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THE VOYAGES  
OF  
THE ENGLISH NATION  
TO AMERICA

Collected by  
RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER,  
AND

Edited by  
EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.

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1889.

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**The Voyages of the English Nation to America  
before the year 1600.**

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# Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries

OF THE

## ENGLISH NATION IN AMERICA.



Sir George Peckham's true Report of the late discoueries.  
continued.

The second Part or Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and  
necessarie to trade and traffique with the Sauages: And  
to plant in their Countries: And diuideth planting into  
two sorts.

AND first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully  
trauell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Sauages  
may not iustly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall  
societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by  
the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world, and  
from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men haue  
agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadors:  
That the Sea with his Hauens should be common: That such as  
should fortune to be taken in warre, should be seruants or slaues:  
And that strangers should not be driuen away from the place or  
Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to vse trade and traffique with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further prooffe.

And forasmuch as the vse of trade and traffique (be it neuer so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer so carefull and diligent) which I meane to diuide into two sortes.

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The principall causes why this voyage is vnderaken.

The second, when Christians being vnjustly repulsed, doe seeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and iustly exercised: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Iosua, and other rulers before the birth of Christ, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings sithence his incarnation :) yet doe I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a prooffe may be made of the first, sauing that for their safetie as well against the Sauages, as all other foreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselues: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and euery other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to vnderstand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieuing them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell iniury, be a iust cause of warre: yet must there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwise, the Christians should doe their best endeuour to take away such



feare as may growe vnto them by reason of their strange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet and peaceable conuersation, and letting them liue in securitie, and keeping a measure of blamelesse defence, with as little discommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defensiuie and not offensiuie.

And questionlesse there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we should bring to passe all effects to our desired purposes: Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easier wonne for all assayes, by courtesie and mildnesse, then by crueltie or roughnesse: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reason, it is first to be put in vse.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so thoroughly furnished with the perfectnesse of their language, eyther to expresse their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the present opportunitie, such policie may be vsed by friendly signes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Sauages may easily perceiue (were their sences neuer so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented vnto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Iet, or Glasse, &c. For such be the things, though to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with vs.

Moreouer, it shall be requisite eyther by speeche, if it be possible either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie vnto them, that once league of friendship with all louing conuersation being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to assist and defend them in their iust quarrels, from all inuasions, spoyles and oppressions offered them by any Tyrants, Aduersaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person vpon whom it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countreyman of ours,

namely David Ingram, (who trauelled in those countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people whose foode is mans flesh, and haue teeth like dogges, and doe pursue them with rauinous mindes to eate their flesh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case iustly and lawfully ayde the Sauages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we shall not only mightily stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Christians, proffering vnto them both commodities, succour and kindnesse: But also by their franke consents shall easily enioy such competent quantity of Land, as euery way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation and contentation, considering the great abundance that they haue of Land, and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe doeth naturally yelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most heartily pray may take effect and place.

But if after these good and fayre meanes vsed, the Sauages neuerthelesse will not bee herewithall satisfied, but  
 The seconde kinde of planting  
 barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Christians from their Ports and safe-landings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themselves thither.

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselves, to pursue reuenge with force, and to doe whatsoever is necessarie for the attaining of their safitie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in stoute assemblies the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vse the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at

this day is vsed : and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Sauages as haue bene conuerted should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Ioshua) and continue their wicked custome of most vnnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit transgresse the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, forasmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Gouvernours of the children of Israel : chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde : as also since the Natiuitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and kings haue performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For prooffe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee saued in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplied to infinite numbers of Nations, which in diuers sortes diuided themselues to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom afterwarde being vnder the gouernment of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adioyning thereunto. Neuerthelesse, before they came to possession thereof, hauing bene afflicted with many grievous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to enioy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselues with all patience, to suffer whatsoever it should please God to send : and at last attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty Kings.

Notwithstanding, Iosua their Leader replenished with the Spirit of God, being assured of the iustnesse of his quarrell, gathered the chiefe strength of the children

Iosua 4.

of Israel together, to the number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge riuer Iordon, and hauing before sent priuie spies

Iosua 6. for the discouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderstand the certaintie of the Citizens estate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it round about with his whole power the space of seuen dayes.

In which respite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Ierico should be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Iosua, that were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, siluer, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they were reserued and consecrated to the Lords treasure.

In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for so much

Iosua 8. as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) sent Ambassadors vnto Iosua to entreate for grace, fauour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their liues should

Iosua 9. bee saued, and that they should be admitted to the children of Israel. Yet vnderstanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he vsed them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other necessities for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and neuer left till hee had subdued all the Hethites, Cananites, Iudg. 11. 13. Peresites, Heuites, and Iebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, and diuers other strange nations, besides whose lands and dominions he wholly diuided among Gods people.

After that Iosua was deceased, Iuda was constituted Lord ouer the armie, who receiuing like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Iosua, and vtterly vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduersaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings as withstoode him, and namely Adoni-

Iudg. 1. bezek the most cruell tyrant: whose thumbes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before vnto seuentie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his table. In this God shewed his iustice to reuenge

tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a most <sup>A good note</sup> puissant and noble warriour so behaued himselfe in <sup>for al Con-</sup> following the worthy acts of Iosua and Iuda, and in <sup>querers to be</sup> short time be not only deliuered on the children of <sup>mercifull.</sup> Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite. <sup>Iudg. 6. 7.</sup>

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indeuour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade : That after our Sauour Iesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediatly disperse themselues to sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remayned some farre remote Countries vnvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermost India, as yet had received no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus, a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to <sup>Ruffinus lib.</sup> search out vnknown lands, did first discover the <sup>1. cap. 9.</sup> same finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being published, and for certaine vnderstood, there was another graue Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolue himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessel arriued there, hauing in his company two yong youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had thoroughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhile staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient vnderstanding of the Indians whole estate : He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same.

But by misfortune he was preuented, for being in the midst of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an unknown Port of the said land : where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two yong

Meropius  
slaine. schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians,  
by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull  
personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to  
Edesius and  
Frumentius their King and Queene: which both being very well  
preserved by liked of, the King courteously entreated, and  
the Indians. ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius  
his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and  
ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and  
estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life,  
left the Queene his wife with her yong sonne to gouerne, and  
gaue free scope and liberty to the two Christians, at their best  
pleasure to passe to their natiue soyles, allowing them all  
necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured  
them was very sorrowfull they should depart, and therefore most  
earnestly intreated them to tarie and assist her in the gouern-  
ment of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grewe to ripe  
yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisdome, ruled  
both the Queene and her subiects at his discretion,  
whereby he tooke occasion to put in practise priuily,  
Frumentius  
in great that the foundation of Christian religion might be  
fauour with planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought  
y<sup>e</sup> Queene of his perswasion might best preuaile, and that soonest  
the Indians. would giue eare vnto him: which being brought to passe accord-  
ingly, hee then with his fellow Edesius tooke leaue  
of the Queene to returne to his natiue country.  
Another great worke of God And so soone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to  
begunne by a man a the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those  
meane birth. euents: who both commending his deedes and  
wholly allowing thereof, by the aduise and good liking of  
Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a  
conuenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly  
a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour  
Ruffinus the afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes  
Author of together, vnto the possession of all the Indians  
this storie. country. The author of this storie Ruffinus receiued the trueth  
hereof from the very mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

Moreouer Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall\* in precise

\* *Marginal note.*—Euseb. in his Ecclesiasticall historie, testifieth how that  
Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and  
Idolatrous nations. Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. cap. 4. et cap. 9.  
Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeauoured by all meanes to subiect all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour thoroughly ayded with a puissant armie of valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Island of Britaines, bending from him full West, which he wholly conquered, made tributarie, and settled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisdom seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towards the North coast of the world, and there vtterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the vttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at last became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter John, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

In the East likewise, what Nation soeuer at that time he could haue notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though vnknown vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermost endeauour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large set forth. Theodoret. in eccle. lib. 5. cap. 20. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie

maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour employed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, vtterly subuerting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such vsurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstood the planting of Christian religion. After whose Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib. decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadus were created Emperours, the one one of the East, the other of the West, who with all the stout godlinesse most carefully

imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging theyr territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Moreouer, it is reported by the sayd author, that Theodosius iunior the Emperour, no whit inferior in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and vtterly destroyed all their idolatry, conuerting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be brieft, who so listeth to read Ecsebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy liues of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea euen in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vsed more copy of examples then otherwise I would haue done, sauing that I haue bene in place, where this maner of plantiug the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I ioyn many moe, but whosoeuer is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the authors last aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I trust) prooued that we may iustly trade and traffique with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countrie.

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath vnto those countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

AND it is very euident that the planting there shal in time  
 right amply enlarge her Maiesties Territories and  
 Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her  
 Highnesse ancient right and interest in those  
 Countries, into the which a noble and worthy  
 personage, lineally descended from the blood royall,

1170.  
 Owen  
 Guyneth  
 was then  
 Prince of  
 Northwales.



borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gaue to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

Nullum  
tempus  
occurrit  
Regia.

This Island  
was  
discouered  
by Sir  
Humfrey and  
his company,  
in this his  
last journey.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules haue white heads. There is also in those countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreouer, there are diuers other Welsh wordes at this day in vse, as Dauid Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma\* that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his subiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes, vsed these speeches following.

MY kinsmen, friends, and seruants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I haue bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient subiects, and so I hope you will remaine vnto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your fathers, or else our diuines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre conntrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chance he himselfe returned not, &c.

Mutezuma  
his Oration  
to his sub-  
iects in pre-  
sence of  
Hernando  
Cortes,  
which  
Oration was  
made about  
the yeere  
1520.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being thoroughly considered,

\* Montezuma.

because they haue relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those courtreys, doe all sufficiently argue the vndoubted title of her Maiestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofof her highnesse title sithence the arriuall of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seuenth, Letters patents were by his Maiestie granted to John Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discouer remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discouery was afterwarde executed to the vse of the Crowne of England, in the sayde

M. Oliuer Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes,  
 Dalbony. who were borne here in England: in true testimony  
 M. Edward whereof there is a faire hauen in Newfoundland,  
 Reow.  
 M. R. H. knownen, and called vntill this day by the name of  
 M. I. A. Sancius hauen, which proueth that they first discovered vpon that coast from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

And this may stand for another title to her Maiesty: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obtained by the discouery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnessse of her Maiesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys, is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOW to shew how the same is likely to prooue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest iewell of this realme, and the chieftest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshal matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall nauy of her Maiesty. which by reason of this voyage shall haue both increase and

maintenance. And it is well known that in sundry places of this realme ships haue bene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely : yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English nauy of fishermen, will no suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chieftest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they haue no succour and knowne safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts ; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish as long as pleased themselues, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty : and withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Cox the  
master.

Moreouer, it is well known that all Sauages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of ciuility, will take maruelous delight in any garment, be it neuer so simple ; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotton cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe haue heard this report made sundry times by diuers of our countreyemen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelue yeeres together, and some of lesse time ; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margin,\* I do leaue to the iudgement of such as are discreet.

\* *Marginal note.*—Clothiers. Woolmen. Carders. Spinners. Weauers. Fullers. Sheermen. Diers. Drapers. Cappers. Hatters, &c. and many decayed townes repayed.

. And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessiue then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the enlargement of our nauy, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeauour my selfe by arguments to proue that by this voyage our naue and nauigation shalbe enlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest and late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily enlarged their dominions, greatly enriched themselves and their subiects: but haue also by iust account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

Besides this, it will prooue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idly at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, and vnprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelue or fourteene yeeres of age, or vnder, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreover, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be employed on plucking, drying, and sorting of Hempe doeth growe feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, neere S. and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right Laurence necessary for dying. All which things are to be riuier naturally. found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselves in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the whale for Trane, and making casks to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying, salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or Science.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subiects of this

Realme, which doe now liue here idly to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelihood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authors to be found leading to Cataia, the Molluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

Read the  
beginning of  
the booke  
intituled  
Diuers  
touching the  
discouery of  
America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to proue to the particular profit of all aduenturers.

I Must, now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore conuenient that I doe diuide the aduenturers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselues, and the Merchants by themselues. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so diuided, but that eche society may freely and franke!y trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselues, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are verie easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adioyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily coniecture: the rather because I doe certainly vnderstand, that some of those which

haue the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reueale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other : so that they may seat and settle themselues in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking : and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as haue bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds and fowles both for pleasure and necessary for vse of man are to be found.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as haue delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and riuier, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eightene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was vpon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of diuers

Hides solde  
for forty  
shillings a  
piece.

honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage aboue two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide : and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe ; there are likewise beasts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumb, and the Great grapes. most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine Wine of the  
Palme tree. there be diuers of good credit in this realme that haue tasted : and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there : so that after such time as they are once settled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as haue a desire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will first say vnto them, as I haue done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abouesayde, is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best tem-

perature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and euery other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscouie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we haue them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand vpon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as haue discovered and trauelled those partes, doe testifie that they haue found in those countreys all these things following, namely :

Of beasts for fures.

Marterns, Beauers, Foxes, blacke and white, Leopards.

Of wormes.

Silke wormes great and large.

Of Birds.

Hawkes, Bitters, Curlewes, Herons, Partridges, Cranes, Mallards, Wilde geese, Stocke dooues, Margaus, Blacke birds, Parrots, Pengwins.

Of Fishes.

Codde, Salmon, Seales, Herrings.

Of Trees.

Palme trees yeelding sweet wines, Cedars, Firres, Sasafras, Oake, Elme, Popler, and sundry other strange Trees to vs vnknown.

Of fruites.

Grapes very large, Muskemellons, Limons, Dates great, Orrenge, Figges, Prunes, Raisins great and small, Pepper, Almonds, Citrons.

Of Mettals.

Golde, Siluer, Copper, Lead, Tinne.

Of Stones.

Turkeis, Rubies, Pearls great and faire, Marble of diuers kindes, Iasper, Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts.

Rosen, Pitch, Tarre, Turpentine, Frankincense, Honny, Waxe, Rubarbe, Oyle Oliue, Traine oyle, Muske codde, Salt, Tallow, Hides, Hempe, Flaxe, Cochenello and dies of diuers sorts, Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the trueth of these may be vnderstood (whereof this intended supply will giue vs more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well

minded persons should be willing to aduenture some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouision made, that no aduenturer shall be bound to any further charge then his first aduenture: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his apprentises and seruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the said articles it is likewise prouided, that none other then such as haue aduentured in the first voyage, or shal become aduenturers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said societie, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say vnto all such according to the olde prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reap by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twice in the yere at the least. But let vs omit all presumptions how vehement soeuer, and dwel vpon the certainty of such commodities as were

Commodities found in August last.	discouered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, and his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serue the whole realme of euery of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which haue bene there, it would seeme incredible.
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It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setting there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discouered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally known: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea,



for pearle, golde, siluer, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the aboue specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister iust occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein those commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other neccessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serue our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Molluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Iersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the said ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serue for a taste, vntill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie to send vs better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this iourney, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the iudgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not neccessary in this treatise, publicly to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage,

The sixth Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be vnto the Sauages themselves very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOW to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not vnder-taken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selues and

our countrey (as generally other trades and iournies be) it shall fall out in prooffe, that the Sauages shall hereby haue iust cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was vndertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Sauour Iesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the deuill to Christ, from hell to heauen. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde vs (were they many moe) that they should but receiue this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But hereunto it may bee obiected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answer, we may say with S. Paul, If wee haue sowed vnto you heauenly things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape <sup>2</sup> Corinth. 9. your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heauenly tidings which those labourers our countrey-men (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present vnto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receiue from vs, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal iudgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receiue, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to some vse: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to ciuilitie and knowledge, and made then to vnderstand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary vse of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What iust cause of complaint may they haue? And in my private opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should be culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receiue by the Christians: for, ouer and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from vnseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and

companies to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall, shalbe taught mechanically occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most vpon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues shalbe preserued. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserued from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heretofore vsed amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

This barge  
cannot be  
vniust, where  
both parties  
are gainers.

The seuenth Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOW therefore for prooffe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themselues, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath provided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand vs in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand ouer this realme, in preseruing the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in such penurie and want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to serue one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like iourneyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreouer, things in the like iourneyes of greatest price and cost as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or

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corselets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a iourney may present : for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Fort only, will suffice vntill such time as diuers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand vs in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we haue also, which in such like cases is a matter of marueilous cost, and will be in in this iourney procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely as well our people, as all other necessities needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfound-land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, sauing some litle freight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priuiledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straight way thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends : for commonly one winde serueth to bring vs thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Ianuarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they haue in a few or none of other iourneyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, hauing but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twentie or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our iourney, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreyes, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy : neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subiect to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heretofore sometimes vpon slender occasion in other parts haue stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countrymen haue bene vterly vndone, diuers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their liues : a thing so fresh in memorie as it neede no prooffe, and is well worthy of consideration,

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line,\* whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeele sundry extreame dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serue our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delays by the way for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing vsually done in long iournies) because, as I sayd aboue, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home haue found so wholesome and sweete, that they haue made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countrey men, the manifold benefits and commodities and pleasures heretofore vnknown, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reueiled vnto vs, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue slumbred in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting friuolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selues, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glory of our heauenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good successe in the countrey of the Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subieet in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges haue passed ouer into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which History our owne chronicles do witnesse: And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who haue bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse, and enioy so large a tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many

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\* Equator.

goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said and is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

Or why should our noble nation be dismayd, more then was

Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemaccus, hauing an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

2. Decad. lib.  
5. fol. 77. of  
the West  
Indies in  
English.

Canoa is a  
kind of boat.

3. Decad. lib.  
1. fol. 97.

About the  
yere of our  
Lord 1511.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious and triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen and sixe pieces of

Conquest of  
the West  
Indies. fol.

43. and 45.  
English.

Ordinance only, he ouerthrew 40000. Indians. The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it aboue the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obtained not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discoverie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and nightie prince Atabalipa prisoner, midst the number of 60000 Indians his subiects,

A marueilous  
victorie.

which were euer before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant vnto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not hauing in his company aboue the number of 210.

Spaniards, whereof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and siluer, and such golde and siluer vessels as they then vsed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals and subiects to bring in gold and siluer for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and couered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spaniards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome vnder pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spaniards should be taken, slaine and ouerthrowen: wherevpon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and siluer already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the same, as well for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of siluer, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches neuer before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of siluer 26485. pound waight, and to euery horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of siluer. Euery souldier had 4550. pezos of gold and 280. pound waight of siluer. Euery Captaine had some 30000. some 20000. pezos of gold and siluer proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, ouer and besides the massie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Letter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: neuer were there before that day souldiers so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this iourney for want of yron, they did shoe their horses, some with gold, and some with siluer. This is to be seene in the

generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

To this may I adde the great discoveries and conquests which the princes of Portugall haue made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Callicut and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, euer as they discovered: which being ightly weyed and considered, doth minister iust cause of encouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subjects of this noble realme of England, to discover, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from vs, but neere adioyning and offring themselues vnto vs (as is aforesayd) which haue neuer yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage vs to looke out and aduenture abroad, vnderstanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number haue within these few yeeres discovered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I haue thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys, and Islands, so neere as I could vpon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera and towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane and chiefe citie of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigan, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta\* a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discovered for their vse Cape Verd, with the Islands adioyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonauista and Sant Iago discovering also the riuer Senega, otherwise called Niger, and Cape Roxo and Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did

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\* Louis Cadamosto, a Venetian, born about 1422, sailed from Madeira in 1455, under the auspices of Dom Henry, son of King John of Portugal. He discovered Senegal, Cape Verd, and Gambia River. In a second voyage, in 1456, he pushed as far as the Saint Dominic River. On his return to his native land in 1464, he published an account of his travels.



discouer the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discouered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Islands of Principe, da Nabon, S. Mattheue, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the hauen towne or port of Pauosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent forth, who was the first man that discouered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, and passing the currents that run vpon the said coast, on the Southeast part of Africa, betweene the said maine land and the Island of S. Laurence, otherwise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discouered to y<sup>e</sup> harbor named the Riuer of y<sup>e</sup> Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the trauailes and discoueries of Vasques de Gama,\* Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sintia, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonzo de Albuquerque,† they did discouer, people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the South Pole, and direct West from the Island of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe Ceffella affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also accounted to vpon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward be the place where the noble and wise king Salomon did fetch his gold discouer people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza, and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so vp to the Streight of Babell-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all vpon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape Guarda Fu, and passed the great gulfe of Arabia and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrional latitude, they made their course againe directly towards

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\* Vasco da Gama was the first to double the Cape of Good Hope. Died at Cochín, 24th December 1525.

† Alonzo, Duke of Albuquerque, an illegitimate descendant of the Kings of Portugal, established the Portuguese power on the East Coast of Africa, in Arabia, the Persian Gulf, further India, the Moluccas, etc. As Viceroy of the East Indies, his justice and chivalrous nature won the love and respect of all, and many years after his death, which happened in 1515, the natives used to make pilgrimages to his tomb to pray for justice against his cruel successors,

the South, and began to discover, people, and plant vpon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Mangolar, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Island of Zeilam.\*

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coast, their forces grewe so great that they were able to compel all the Moores, the subiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they passed the gulfes of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd land, euer as they passed to and from the hauens o Cochin, Calecut, and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of discipline practised in those partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vse of the Caliuier shot, and to interlace and ioyn footemen with his horsemen, sithence which time the Persians haue growen to that strength and force, that they haue giuen many mighty and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

And from the Island of Zeilam aforesayd they all discovered more East in passing the gulfes of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape

of Malaca, and vnto the great and large Islands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other the Islands of

At these Islands hath sir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie was renowned. These are the furthest parts of the world from England. Molucques and Spiceries, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinsay, and to the Island of Zipango and Iapan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. These are their noble and worthie discoveries. Here also is not to be forgotten, that in the yeere of our Lord. 1501, that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Ves-

pucius did discover, people, and plant to their vse the holdes and forts which they haue in Brasill, of whom (he but being a priuate gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

I doe greatly doubt least I seeme ouer tedious in the recitall of

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† Ceylon.

the particular discoueries and Conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portugall, whose Countrey for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England, and the king of Spaine likewise, whose natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by means of their discoueries within lesse then 90. yeeres past, haue as it appeareth both mightily and marueilously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aid we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarrell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowned memorie, and leaue vnto our posteritie a diuine memoriall of so godly an enterprise: Let vs I say for the considerations alledged, enter into iudgement with our selues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no iust cause of doubt.) Then shal her Maiesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles iustly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme vtterly banished, diuers decayed townes repaired, and many poor and needy persons relieued, and estates of such as now liue in want shail be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannical neighbours, the diabolical custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Sauour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for he that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good work I trust is reserued for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Wherefore my deere countreyemen, be not dismayed: for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospel any whit abated. Shall wee then donbt

he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vnder-taken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West : and Vasques de Gama, Peter Aluares, et Alonso de Albuquerque in the East : Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the sequell to Almightye God : for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against vs : Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatsoeuer is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise vnperfect, I take leaue and so end.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, encouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoueries, &c.

I vnderstand aswel by a letter I long since receiued from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir Iohn Pekham, that you haue endeouored, and giuen much light for the discouery of the Westerne partes yet vnknown : as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same ; wishing you do continue your trauell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in priuate, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,  
FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their aduenture in the Westerne discouerie.

After my heartie commendations, I haue for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of Nouember last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Giiibert, as you haue heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then

yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barks you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil prooue profitable to the Aduenturers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme : herein I pray you conferre with these bearers M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you : And so bid you heertily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Maiestie, concerning a Westernne voyage intended for the discouery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

RIght honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto me and deliuered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steuenton, bearing the date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know most affect ionate to this most godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants : whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as conuenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered : where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed vnto me priuately, to be read in publike, and after some good light giuen by M. Hakluyt vnto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolued the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, and apparently known by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and vpward : which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westernne discouery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we haue heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to haue M. Steuenton your honours messenger, and one well knowen to vs

as captaine. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe vs of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most conuenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America : written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscouian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound fīue shilling.

When the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered vnto him, he presently bringeth the same to the touchstone, where by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he forthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby we may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended vnto your knowledge and resolution.

And first to lay downe that of Moscouia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many : It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discouery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, together with the leud dealing of some of their seruants, who thought themselues safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company aboue fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie : It falleth to very ticklish termes,

and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderstood.

Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertainty of the Emperours disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadors betweene that Prince and her Maiesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewise an aduantage vpon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie.

The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently known to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to depriue them wholly of their occupying that way : and to the same purpose haue of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and ancient priuiledges in all their great townes.

The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to haue so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ : It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with vs vpon sudden occasions, and the presents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

As for the trades into all the parts of Italie, it may easily be considered by euery one of iudgement, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and trauell, are set at such excessiue ransoms before they can bee freed of their slauerie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three

hundred, yea, foure or five hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enuiously the Venetians doe already oppose themselves against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they haue imposed as well vpon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also vpon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoever it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee haue very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the prouision they haue from the same, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoever the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may

Remember  
the great  
arrest of the  
Hollanders.  
An. 1598.

at these seasons depriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to bee noted, that when hee shall take a quarrell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bec bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoever hee bee that is but meanelly affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieved in his heart to consider, that his children and seruants whom hee desireth to haue well brought vp, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and to acquaint themselues with that which the Parents and Masters doe vtterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of



good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

1 As first it is to be vnderstood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discouerie thereof. Commodities of this voyage in shortnesse.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any foreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their seruants or children, shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parents and Masters.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainly able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other. Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscouie.

But when this of America shall haue bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twice tenne be employed well, twice the yeere at the least. And if for the present there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting but by that matter only to serue halfe a dozen of your best sorts of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after  
 The some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this  
 seuerall situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather  
 merchandise. the commodities either of those parts which stand to  
 he Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an especiall good  
 fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other  
 such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld vs now :  
 as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe  
 hides, rich Furres, and other such like without being in any  
 sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state  
 that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their  
 pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait  
 passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it  
 may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe,  
 since the grapes doe growe there of themselues alreadie very faire  
 and in great abundance. Oliues being once planted, will yeelede  
 the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The Countrey  
 people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will  
 giue them such trifling things as they desired of vs, and shewing  
 them once the means how to prouide the same, the labour thereof  
 being so light, no doubt but in short time they will  
 A lake of salt in Vasques earnestly care to haue the same in good quantitie for  
 his voyage. vs. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good  
 meanes to make Salt, which may serue for the fishing of those  
 partes, may well appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of  
 such places as are required to make the same in.

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with  
 an easie kinde of trauell : but when it may haue pleased God to  
 establish our people there any such time as they may haue planted  
 amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by  
 gentle and familiar treating them, they bee made to see what is  
 better for them then they doe as yet vnderstand of, and that in  
 so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe : It  
 is to bee assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little  
 forsake their barbarous and sauage liuing, and growe to such  
 order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may be well expected from  
 thence no lesse quantitie and diuersitie of merchandize then is  
 now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the  
 bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with vs,

so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most louing and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good paospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall but a very liberall vtterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall haue wonderfull great vse of her sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, ouer many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee provided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serue in some reasonable and conuenient sort, to transport our Merchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, vntill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who hauing long since expected some profits herein, vpon the great promises that haue bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe therevpon conceiue that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discouerie.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other obiection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attempts vnknownen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand, the

first charges are commonly aduentured in more desperate kinde, then those thst followe vpon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselues bee willing and desirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembered by those who be Merchants, euen in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is aforesayde.\* So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly came from thence, that such a Countrey and people they haue themselues seene, as is by vs spoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of those, who haue nowe neither heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such friuolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their fredoms of trade I would not haue pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather as such as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, and that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Prouerbe that is vsed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of Common weale, and to those especially in priuate, who take on them the hazard of their life and trauell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towards the vndertaking of this aduenture, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reasons doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchand-

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\* *Marginal note.*—The ewer of metal brought by M. Frobisher, caused two seuerall supplies, the two yeeres next following; whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ships.

ise : but also to an infinite number of other, who presently liue in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discouerie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion vpon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be vrged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discouery of the Moscouian trade : It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England : And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke, for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I haue beene thoroughly resolved to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to vnderstand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who haue any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before vs, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the sauage people to Christianitie and ciuilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, where-with God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their liuings after their parents decease, are driuen to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into such disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselues led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such

vile deedes : and in steade thereof, prooue greatly seruiceable in those affaires, where they might be so employed.

Master This I speake of mine owne experience, hauing Carlines owne seene diuers come ouer to he warres of the lowe experience Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had bene very euill and idle liuers, and by some little continuance with vs, haue growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in euery point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath bene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subiect wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie : you may vnderstande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters, very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier, of S. Malo made his first discoverie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumes might haue bene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yeere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouision into the Grand bay againe, where he keeping the Northerly shoare, ran vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at last with his small pinnesses, (hauing left his great shipping by the way) he arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discoverie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in these

partes, and the sauage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of prouision, euen as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals ; yet did they notrefuse to serue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towards the ende when the neede was most, as with our selues the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants serued all the yeere and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discouerie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue beene well vnderstoode, they resolued with themselues to take some of the sufficientest men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that hauing once atchieued the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least trauaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselues, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further seruice, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caried away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Theuet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as neuer since they would admit any conuersation or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawn on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by

The French-  
mens trade  
renewed in  
Canada, in  
the yeere  
1581.

those Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade secret vnto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Iersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, sauing a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they haue multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of fourescore tunnes : which report is giuen by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboard of some of them.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Guernsey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fifteene hundredreth for euery one hundredreth : But how soeuer it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

Nowe if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared vnto you : it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath : dealing herein no otherwise with you for your seuerall small summes, then I doe with myselfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you : besides the hazard and trauaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and vnspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

The South  
part best for  
inhabiting  
and traffique.





Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile, vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America.

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart.  
 Master Alderman Spencer.  
 Master Hoddesden.  
 Master William Burrough.  
 Master Slany.  
 Master Towerson.  
 Master Staper.  
 Master Iohn Castelin.  
 Master Leake.

First the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with sauage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the onely most fit and most commodious for vs to intermeddle withall.

The conuenientest manner of attempting this enterprise is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The charge to transport these hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof bath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristoll one thousand poundes, the residue being three thousande poundes, remaineth to bee furnished by this Citie of London, or any others who will aduenture their money in this first preparation.

The furnish-  
 ing forth of  
 100. men for  
 one yeere  
 will cost  
 4000.li.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a Priuilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Maiesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually provided for,

First, that they who shall disburse their money for the first preparation shall be named Aduenturers, and shall haue the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and siluer, and other metals whatsoever, as shall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this discouery: yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of all such gold and siluer, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employ themselves personally in the present discouerie, shall be named Enterprisers, and shall haue the other halfe, of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Siluer and other mettals, yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of the Gold and Siluer as the Aduenturers do: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelue discreet persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers.

Also, that all trade of Marchandise which shall be vsed to and from those partes, which by this discouerie shall bee found out, shall apperteine onely to the Aduenturers which first shall disburse their money for this discouery, which prohibition to all other her Maiesties subiects, and other Marchants to deale in the sayd parts, without the consent of the first Aduenturers, vpon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall aduventure in trade of marchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter aduventure in this discouerie as Aduenturers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disburse their money in the first preparation: and they shall not aduventure hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first aduventure.

Also, the profite which by this discouerie shall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discouerie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall haue his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their first aduventure, and not otherwise.

The Aduenturers in this first preparation shall, at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for euer holde to them the freedome of the trade which shall growe in any of these

partes: notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obtained, be graunted, that all her Maiesties subiects may transport themselues thither that shall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women, and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obtained.

That it shall not be lawful for any of her Maiesties subiects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall haue setled his chiefest being or residence.

A relation of the first voyage and discouerie of the Isle Ramea, made by                for Monsieur de La Court Pre Ravillon, and Grand Pre, with the ship called the Bonaventure, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beasts called the Morses with great teeth, which we haue performed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

FOR the performance of our said voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ships called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then lost them, a violent wind arising at Northwest, which separated vs.

The fleete of  
Canada.

After which we had faire wether, and came to the coast of Cape Rase, and had no further knowledge thereof, because the winde was at the Southwest but a scarce gale: and we came to the sounding Southwest of the Isles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we sayled Northwest one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591. we were come to Cape de Rey, and saw a ship Southwest of vs, and stayed there that night.

The next day being the seuenth of the sayd moneth, we came to the Isles of Aponas, where we put forth our boat, because

we had not past 8. leagues to our hauen, which we kenned very clearly, although the coasts lay very low : and because the night approached, and the wind grew very high, we sought not to seeke our port, because it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, because of the shoalds that are about it. And we thought to keepe our course vntill the next morning between the Isle of Biton and the Isle of Aponas. But there arose so great a tempest at the Southwest, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among these Isles. And we trauersed vp and downe eleuen dayes, making our prayers vnto God to ende the tempest and to send vs faire weather, that we might obtaine our hauen : which of his goodnesse he gaue vs. The last of May we ranged the Isle Ramea on the Northnorthwest side, vnto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southsoutheast : and seeing no land on the West side, wee ranged the sayd land to the East one quarter to the North at the least 15. leagues, and being from the shore some eight leagues, we found 15 fathoms water, and passed betweene the Isle of Duoron and the Isle of Ramea, where goeth a chanel of 3. leagues bredth ; in the midst whereof you shall haue 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Isle Ramea, and the Isle Duoron lie Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Isle Ramea by a great league, for I haue sounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Isle is marked. And the harbour of the Isle Ramea lyeth Northeast and Southwest, one quarter to the East and West. And if you would enter the sayd harbour, keepe you a league off the shoare : for often times there is great danger.

And that you may know the sayd hauen, to the Eastnortheast of the sayde Isle there are high lands appearing to  
 The markes of the harbour of the Isle Ramea. them that are without on all sides like a number of Islands, but in very deede they are all firme land : and if you come on the South and Southwest side, you shall see a hill diuided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the hauen. And for another better marke of the sayd harbour, you shall  
 An Isle like a Floure de lice. see an Isle like vnto a Floure de lice, distant from the sayd hauen 6. leagues at the least : and this Isle and the sayd hauen lie Northeast and Southwest, a quarter to the North and South. And on the sayd Isle there is good pebble

stone to drie fish vpon: But to the West thereof there is a very faire cuntry: and there is a banke <sup>A banke of sand.</sup> of sande, which runneth the length of a cable, hauing not past one fathom water vpon it. From the sayd Isle along the firme land the coast lyeth East and West, and you shall see as it were a great forrest running eastward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the sayd lands you shall see as it were a small Island, but it ioyneth to the firme land on the Southwest part: and there is good shingle to drie fish on. And you must coast the shore with boates and not with ships, by reason of the shallowes of the sayd coast. For I <sup>The maine a shold coast.</sup> haue seene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from shore, and I iudged by reason of the highnesse of the land, that there had bene aboue thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing so: and I haue sounded comming neere the shore, in more or lesse depth. The coast stretcheth three leagues to the West from Lisle Blanche or the white <sup>Lisle Blanche. The place where they killed 1500. Morses.</sup> Isle, vnto the entrance of a riuier, where we slewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morses or Sea oxen, accounting small and great, where at full sea you may come on shoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coast trendeth foure leagues to the West  $\frac{1}{4}$  to the Northwest vnto the Isle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: vpon it there is neither wood nor grasse: there are Morses vpon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coast trendeth to the Northwest and Northnorthwest: which is all that I haue seene, to wit, the two sides and one ende of the Isle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Masters, when I was on the Northwest side with my shippe, I would haue aduentured to haue sayled South-southeast, to haue discovered the Easterne shoare of the sayd Isle.

In your returne to the East, as you come from the hauen of Cape du Chapt vnto the sayde hauen, are sandes and <sup>Sands and sholds.</sup> sholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a small Island containing about a league of ground: where there is an hauen\* toward <sup>A smal Island containing a league of ground.</sup> the Southeast: and as you enter into the sayd

\* Blank in original.

hauen on the starreboord side, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the sayd hauen but with the flood, because of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the sayd hauen. The tydes are there at Southeast and Northwest; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the hauen at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth fve foote and an halfe.

A hard  
hauen.

Markes to  
come into  
the hauen.

The markes to enter into the sayd hauen are to leaue the Isle Blanche or White Island at your comming in on the starreboord; and the poynt of the hauen toward the West hath a thick Island, which you shall see on the other side, and it hath a little round Buttresse, which lyeth on the East side of the Island. There are also two other buttresses more easie to be seene then hidden: these are not to the East but to the West, and they haue markes on them. Here you shall not haue aboue two fathom and an halfe at a full sea vpon this barre. And the sounding is stone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you shall finde white sand which lyeth next

The barre,

the Southeast of the Cape, then you are vpon the barre: and bee not afraide to passe vp the chanell. And for markes towarde the West athwart the barre, when you haue brought an Island euen, which lyeth to the westward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth most to the West, you shall bee past the barre: and the chanell

The best  
anchorage.

runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the sayd hauen, see that you carefully seeke the middest of the sayd Thicke land, which lyeth in the bottome of the sayd hauen: for you must anchor betweene two bankes of sand, where the passage is but narrow. And you must anker surely: for there goeth a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as swiftly and more then in\*. There is good ground and ankorage here: and you shall ride in three fathom water. And within the sayde hauen there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you should be driuen

Another  
entrance.  
The Isle of  
Cormorants.

Westward of the sayd hauen, you may seeke an entrance, which is right ouer against the small Island named before, which is called The Isle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other hauen at a full sea: And you must passe vpon the West side,

\* Blank in original.

and you :hall finde on the Barre at a full sea fourteenc foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very swiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeast and Northwest.

Right ouer against you on the other side, you may passe with boates at a full sea. And all these entrances make all but one hauen, which is good within. I say this, because I haue passed into the maine Sea by the one and the other passage. And the said Isle is not past two leagues ouer in the middest. It is but two bankes of sande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from passing through the middest of all the Isle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Islands altogether cut and separated with streames and riuers.

To anker in the sayd harbour, you must not ride farther then fūe or sixe cables length from the sayd hauen.

A letter sent to the right Honourable Sir William Cecil Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas Iames of Bristoll, concerning the discouerie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

Right Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to aduertise your honour of the discouery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised neare Silley by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Maiesties seruice. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with vpwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47. degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulde: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May and Iune, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big: and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of fūe of the saide fishes they make a hogshhead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of Spaine may burne some of his

Oliue trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightye. From Bristoll this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours most humbly at commandement.

THOMAS JAMES.

A briefe note of the Morsse and the vse thereof.

IN the first voyage of Iaqués Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534. as you may reade in pag. 250 of this present volume,\* he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the sea. Wee sawe one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Iaqués Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen, and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in Latine Boues Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, and in the Russian tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I haue seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Bulls hides in England. The Leather dressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vse in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I haue seene diuers in her Maiesties stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I haue seene a dry flat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: and haue bene sold in England to the combe and knife makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Iuory is solde for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow then the Iuorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long or very little lesse: and

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\* This page refers to Vol. III. of the Edition of 1812. For Jacques Cartiers voyage, see farther on.



assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministering medicine to his patients, and had found it as soueraigne against poyson as any Vnicornes horne.\*

The voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redriffe vnto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an halfe, 1593. Written by Richard Fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.

THE ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, wherof 10 were mariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morsses or sea Oxen (whereof diuers haue teeth aboue a cubit long and skinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of Iune 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsham, which vpon some occasion was not ready so soone as shee should haue bene by two moneths. The place for which these two ships were bound was an Island within the streights of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, or Ramea, but by the Sauages and naturals of the Continent next adioying Menquit: On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and Iune, that there haue bene fiteene hundreth killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shipps aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfoundland: and neuer came after together in all their voyage.

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with New-foundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts fraughted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league

\* A very curious account of the Unicorn is to be found in Goldsmid's *Myths of Ancient Science*, 1886,

with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seized vpon and brought away as good prises home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-Oxen, but nothing such numbers as they might haue had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfoundland the eleuenth of Iulie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter) which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being vnacquainted with the place, beate vp and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length ouer shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

Here diuerse of our men went on land vpon the very Cape, where, at their arriuall they found the spittes of Oke  
The English men land vpon Cape Briton. of the Sauages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe diuers

beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But hauing found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And

here hauing heede of fresh water we went againe on  
They goe on shore in another place. shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came

one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his  
The people of the countrey came downe to our men. shoulders who called vnto vs, weauing his handes downewardes towardes his bellie, vsing these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one

of our mens musket vnawares shot off: wherevpon hee fell downe, and rising vp suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right vp ouer the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towardes vs with white stauies in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of  
Blacke dogs. colour blacke not so bigge as a grey-hounde followed

them at the heeles; but wee retired vnto our boate without any

hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Vpon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dozen muskets shotte vpon them, which they auoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of vs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of vs Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diuerse other kindes to vs vnknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to obserue them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raspeses, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and diuers good for the skuruie, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe fise or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee iudged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their hanging vp their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the ayre: they also lay them vpon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake vnder them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Sauages vse to doe in Virginia.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounded and had sixtie fathomes black ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre to the Southwest, that wee brought ourselues into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, hauing sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betweene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to set out toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Porposes, whereof we killed eleuen. We sawe Whales also of all sortes aswel small as great: and here our men tooke many

A secret trade to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

Soundings to the South and Southwestward of Cape Briton.

They sayle 50 or 60 leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

Great store of Seales, Porposes, Whales and Cods,

lberded Coddess with one teate vnderneath, which are like to the Northeast Cods, and better then those of Newfoundland.

From our arriuall at the hauen of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleuenth of Iuly) we continued beating vp and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton vntill the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleuen weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Açores, and came first to Coruo and Flores, where beating vp and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which we found too well appointed for vs to bring along with vs, and so being forced to leaue them behinde and hauing wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home vnto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, untill one of our men fell ouerboord and was drowned, after which time shee immediatly forsooke vs, and neuer afterward appeared vnto vs.\*

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.

IN the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher seruant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths as she ought to haue bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, and lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of

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\* Probably a Shark.

killing the Morses or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and Iune: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken vp by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint Iohn de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee say. Which lingering improuidence of our men hath bene the ouerthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the vndertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leaue it out. The want whereof, for the better vnderstanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplied by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly preuented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischiefe, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayde gainefull and profitab le trade.

Neuerthelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abouesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Siluester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that haue conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and haue brought vs true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes; while wee this long time haue stood still and haue bene idle lookers on, making courtesie who should giue the first aduenture, or once being giuen, who should continue or prosecute the same.

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The voyage of the Grace of Bristoll of M. Rice Iones, a Barke of thirty-fue Tunnes, vp into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newfoundland, as farre as the Ile of Assumption or Natiscotec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Siluester Wyet, Ship-master of Bristoll.

WEe departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelue men for the place aforesaid from Bristoll the 4 of Aprill 1594 and fell with Cape d'Espere on the coast of Newfoundland the nineteenth of May in the heighth of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20 day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Then we set our course Northwest for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great bay of Placentia almost at the entrie thereof.

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers  
 The Islands of the Martyers. our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by  
 The Isles of S. Peter. North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of Sibiburo fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed therace, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ship vpon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our prouision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulfie of S. Laurence betweene Cape Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course Northnorthwest being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeast and by East some 18 or 19 leagues.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biskaine ships, which had bene cast away three yeeres before: where we had some seuen or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their mayne shrouds and fore

shroudes : al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the cliffs of the hils, which couered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we vnderstood to be there by foure Spaniards which escaped, and were brought to S. Iohn de Luz. Here we found the houses of the Sauages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Doue-house, and couered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted vpon wooden spits at the fire, and a dish made of a ryne of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to haue dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northern point of the said Bay, which is nine or ten leagues broad. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are wont vsually to shoot themselues on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Naticotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great riuer that runneth vp to Canada, we shaped our course ouer to that long Isle of Naticotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about forty foure leagues : and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here wee arriued about the middest of Iune at the East end, and rode in eightene fadome water, in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish : we went also seuen of vs on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of diuers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island, which we perceiued to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Natis-

They land on  
the Isle of  
Naticotec.

cotec some twelue leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton : then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arriued in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues vp within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vsed and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and vs. There the men of Saint Iohn and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on vs to make vp our voyage with fish. Then wee departed ouer to the other side of the Bay, where we arriued in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Sauages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Sauages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and hauing passed Cape Kaz, we passed Northwarde foureteene leagues and arriued in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made vp our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content : and departing thence we arriued first in Combe and staid there a seuen night, and afterward in Hungrod in the riuier of Bristoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and diuers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

THE Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, whereof was M. Steuen Bennet, bound vnto the riuier of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the saide Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steuen Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselues in the said ships as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graues-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriuing at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous



windes the 18 of May we were vpon the Banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and afterward in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arriued at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was giuen vs at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) vntill the last of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of Iune we set saile from Rogneuse, and the second we put roome to a bay vnder the Northside of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reason of contrary windes we cast anker vnder the Northeast end of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome <sup>The Isle of Menego.</sup> reasonable ground. In that place we caught great store of Cods, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Cods did bite at least 20 fathomes aboue ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the two Islands of Birds, <sup>The 2 Islands of Birdea.</sup> some 23 leagues from Monego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And vpon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or sea Oxen, <sup>Store of Morsses.</sup> which were a sleepe vpon the rockes: but when we approched nere vnto them with our boate they cast themselves into the sea and pursued vs with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arriued at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great abundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was aboue water

In Bryans Island excellent ground for corne and meadow. she bent the hooke and escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, and great store of wood, but of smal groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weighed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our consort. And approaching neere vnto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two of Sibiburo adioyning to Saint Iohn de Luz being the French Kings subiects, whom they supposed to haue bene of Spaine, and so affirmed vnto vs. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleuen foote and an halfe of water vpon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those only of Saint Malo came aboard, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint Iohn de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboard, and to bring with them there Charters parties and other euidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which message one of the sayde Masters came aboard, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subiects. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliuer up their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subiects it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent thereunto: whereunto we replied, that vnlesse they would consent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ship: but straightly commanded our men not to touch anything else in the ship vpon their further perill: which they promised to performe. When they came aboorde the said ships which were mored together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie;

which done, they fell presently to pillaging of the Baskes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoever they had pillaged, and gaue it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboard our owne ship their powder and munition to be kept in safetie vntil we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gaue the Baskes possession of their shippe againe, and tolde them they should not loose the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subiects. Then I caryed away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboard went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was thoroughly satisfied that he was of France and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine prooffe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolu'd to cary one of those ships away. But they were preuented of their euill purpose by ayde which the saide ships receiued from their countrey men in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of Iune, very earely there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted vpon the shore three pieces of Ordinance against vs, and had prepared them selues in al readinesse to fight with vs, which so soone as as we had discried them gaue the onset vpon vs with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readines to assault vs about three hundred Sauages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by vs: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore vnto them: wherevpon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boatswaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they had they detained as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baskes in possession; which we surrendered vnto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there

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A new treason of the Britons. came aboard vnto vs one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baskes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betraied. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselues aboard of our ship and held vs in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others should haue entred our ship vnawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, and vnto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiuing their treacherous intent, threatned to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would haue entred. By which resolution of ours God did discourage them from effecting their mischieuous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himself preuented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things should be ended in peace betweene vs, and that he would send vs our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, and withall commanded vs out of the harborough, but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliuer his boat but also determined to be gon and then requested them to help vs with our anker which was on shore; but they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable vpon the anker on shore (for we durst not send our boat lest they should haue kept from vs both our boat and men) which they promised to do for vs, as also to send our men; but when they were on shore, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their falshood in euery thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawse: which we did, and so departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leauing two of our men with our cable and anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawser behind vs. And as we were going away, they made great shewes of friendship, and dranke vnto vs from the shore; but more for feare then loue, and requested vs to come on shore for our men, whom then they deliuered. The same morning in passing ouer the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboard, our ship came on ground vpon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres; during

The bar of the haufen of Ramea.

which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great prouidence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About size of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send vs faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane ouer the bar. The 21 day after we got ouer the barre the wind arose at east and eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept vs within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other or the White harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships: where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope and assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the shore with our ship, and weaued them with a white flag, they in sted of comming vnto vs, sent their message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on shore of purpose against vs; so that they would neither speake with vs, nor permit vs to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would haue put to sea that night: but there was much wind at East, which kept vs within the bay, and inforced vs to come to an anker vnder Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22. we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at North-east and foule weather, the master sayd he could not ply vp to Grande Coste, because of the leeshore, and the wind against vs, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the river of cape Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Sauages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water and balist, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary vs thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so farre forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Hereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course southeast and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd riuier, and from the sayd riuier to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40. leagues to the riuier, and from the

riuer to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Hereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me and the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of Iune we sent our boat

Their  
arriual in  
the Isle of  
Cape Briton.

on shore in a great bay vpon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arriued on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caske no shore in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we

The Chance-  
wel cast  
away 18  
leagues  
within Cape  
Briton.

met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told vs that their ship was cast away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the shore, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her vp into a sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboard many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillagin; the poore men euen to their very shirts, and vsing them in sauage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians haue aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his diuine prouidence and vnspeakeable mercy had not onely preserued all the men, but brought vs thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that

Woods on  
the Isle of  
Cape Briton.

holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboard of vs: whom we vsed well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop

with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompence whereof he gaue vs two hogsheads of sider, one barrel of peaze, and 25 score of fish. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine some 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whose men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewels company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approaching nere their stage, we saw it vncovered, and so suspected the ship to be gone: whereupon we sent our pinnesse on shore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great store of fish on shore, but all the men were fled: neither could they perceiue whether the ship should be gone, but as they thought to sea. This day about twelue of the clocke we tooke a Sauages boat which our men pursued: but all the Sauages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow: and the same day we tooke three hogsheads and an halfe of traine, and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the euening three of the Sauages, whose boat we had, came vnto vs for their boat; to whom we gaue coats and kniues, and restored them their boate againe. The next day being the first of Iuly, the rest of the Sauages came vnto vs, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. These Sauages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net aboue 140. The fourth of Iuly in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port. At this place in pursuing certaine shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboard, who told vs, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral and others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Iohannes de Harte, and

The Sauages  
of Cape  
Briton come  
aboord of  
our ship.

Cibo an  
harborow in  
the Isle of  
Cape Briton.

Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would assist vs what they might. This answer we had the sixt day : and the seuenth in the fornoone we arriued in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships : which done, I went aboard the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise : who sent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe : whereupon I went aboard his ship to haue them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed ; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were brieft with them, and willed them either to restore vs the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also haue satisfaction for our victuals and merchandises which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboard, and desired to speake with mee : then I went aboard vnto him, and desired to haue our things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our vmpires, and what they should aduise I would stand vnto. Heereupon he went aboard the other ship to make peace ; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace vnto them. they would so set me aboard my ship againe : which they denied to doe, but most vniustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboard : but so soone as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with vs. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all : and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them : but when they saw they had lost their aduantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twice to goe aboard, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our liues : so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft vs : and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs : for we were to passe by them vnto our ship : but we rescued our



shallop vnder our Masters great boat ; and by that meanes passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the winde had serued our turne, to haue made them to repent their euill dealing, and to restore vs our owne againe, or els to haue suncke their ships if we could. But the winde serued not our turne for that purpose ; but caried vs to sea : so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland : where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did fish at that place. The thirteenth day we had sight of S. Peters Islands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and misty weather, while we made towards the land, we sent our shallop before the shippe to discouer dangers : but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, she lost vs : yet we kept on our course, thinking that although we could not see them, yet they might see our ship : and comming into sixteene fathoms water we cast anker, supposing our selues to be neere the shore : and in the euening it pleased God to giue vs for the space of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our selues to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from vs. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence : the same euening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surprise the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence : who presently vpon the entrance of our men surrendered vp their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came forth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put fife or sixe leagues to leeward : and while they were at anker in the boat they were surprised again by certaine Basks of S. Iohn de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Basks with their forces (hauing receiued intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped vnto them ouerland) on the sudden surprised the sayd

They de-  
parted from  
Cape Briton.

S. Peters  
Islands.

A Spanish  
ship taken.

boat with our Master and others : and then presently made vnto the ship ; but our men aboard defended them off. In the end they threatned that vnlesse they would yeeld, they would kill M.

M. Crafton. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at last vpon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to saue their liues, they yeelded vp the ship againe, vpon condition, that they should not iniure any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart : yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their couenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and vsing them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arriued in the bay : where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboard vnto vs, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde vs the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboard, except the two prisoners : and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with fiae hogsheads of traine oile in ech of them, and in one boat foure Spanyards ; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ransome M. Crafton and Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence sent them aboard, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatswaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with vs : and the same day we set from thence. The 24 we had aduice of our Spanyard of certain

The harbo- Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary.  
row of Cape Whereupon the same night, being within fiae or six  
S. Marie. leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discover the harborow, and to surprise the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ship, and in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surprised with foure men in her ; who told them that

there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboard the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could vnto the ship of Belle isle, which first began with vs with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopsaile, but both the other missed vs. And we also sent one vnto them: then being approached nere vnto them ten or twelue of vs went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with vs to make fast vnto their ship, whereby our ship might the better come vp to ayd vs. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke themselues to their close fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with shot and pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot and pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into the sea: which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboard, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ship aboue forty men, most whereof we sent aboard our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had also foureteene or fiteene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we should haue had the hoter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some oile aboard, and there we taried vntill the second of August, fitting our selues for the sea, and getting fish aboard as weather serued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to ech ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolved to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against vs by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, hauing taken in water and wood, we put to sea from

that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our prouision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboard the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to cousin and deceiue them. To conclude, they sent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafton commission before to go for the Island of the Açores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, whenas hauing lost vs in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with three: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners, thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of iudgements, and euil marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to the East and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time vntill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channell of Bristoll; from whence we shaped our course: and after diuers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine obseruations touching the countreys and places  
where we trauelled.

THE Newfoundland we found very subiect to fogs and mists.

The ground of it is very rocky : and vpon it there is great store of firre trees, and in some places red ; and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod-fish. We were on land in it in foure seuerall places : 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon : 2 At Cape Rase : 3 At the harborow of Lano, which lieth foure leagues to the West of Cape Laurence : 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Monego for the soile is much like Newfoundland, but the fish about it, as also throwout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better than that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midst of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thrise on shore : once at the East side, and twice at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paued street. The greatest of the Islands is about a mile in compasse. The second is little less. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these there lay on the shore in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oxen or morses : which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat more than a league long, and about three leagues in compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, hauing also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shore, which we much desired, and hoped to haue bene : but the conflict which we had there with the Basks and Britons, mentioned before, preuented vs.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shore vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hils : as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shore vpon it in fiue places : 1 At the bay where the

Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulness of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberries, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of diuers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hemepe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.



## CERTAINE VOYAGES

CONTAINING THE DISCOUERGIE OF THE GULFE OF SAINT LAURENCE TO THE WEST OF NEWFOUNDLAND, AND FROM THENCE VP THE RIUER OF CANADA, TO HOCHELAGA, SAGUENAY, AND OTHER PLACES: WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPERATURE OF THE CLIMATE, THE DISPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE, THE NATURE, COMMODITIES, AND RICHES OF THE SOILE, AND OTHER MATTERS OF SPECIALL MOMENT.

The first relation of Iaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land called New France, newly discovered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. Iaques Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships, and came to Newfoundland, and how he entred into the Port of Buona Vista.

AFTER that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, and Viceadmirall of France had caused the Captaines, Masters, and Mariners of the shippes to be sworne to behaue themselves truly and faithfully in the seruice of the most Christian King of France, vnder the charge of the sayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of Aprill 1534, we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in each one: and with such prosperous weather we sailed onwards, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude\*. But because of the great store of the ice that was alongst the sayd land, we were constrayned to enter into an hauen called S. Katherins

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\* Blank in original.

Hauen, distant from the other Port about fve leagues toward Southsoutheast : there did we stay tenne days looking for faire weather ; and in the meanwhile we mended and dressed our boats.

How we came to the Island of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

Vpon the 21 of May the wind being in the West, we hoisted saile, and sailed toward North and by East from the cape of Buona Vista vntil we came to the Island of Birds, which was enuironed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt : notwithstanding the sayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that vnlesse a man did see them, he would thinke it an incredible thing : for albeit the Island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seeme to haue been brought thither, and sowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many houering about as within ; some of which are as big as iayes, blacke and white, with beaks like vnto crows : they lie alwayes upon the sea ; they cannot flie very high, because their wings are so little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as swiftly as any birds of the aire leuell to the water ; they are also exceeding fat ; we named them Aporath. In lesse then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with stones : so that besides them which we did eat fresh, euery ship did powder and salt fve or sixe barrells full of them.

Of two sorts of birds, the one called Godetz, the other Margaulx ; and how we came to Carpunt.

BESides these, there is another kinde of birds which houer in the aire, and ouer the sea, lesser than the others ; and these doe all gather themselves together in the Island, and put themselues vnder the wings of birds that are greater : these we named Godetz. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite euen as dogs : those we named Margaulx. And albeit the sayd Island be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithstanding beares come swimming thither to eat of the sayd



birds : and our men found one there as great as any A great  
 cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence white bear.  
 leapt into the sea ; and vpon Whitsunmunday (following our  
 voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, swimming  
 toward land as swiftly as we could saile. So soone as we saw  
 her, we pursued her with our boats, and by maine strength tooke  
 her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calf of  
 two yeres olde. The Wednesday following, being the 27 of the  
 moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the  
 Castles ; but because the weather was ill, and the <sup>Les</sup> Chasteaux.  
 great store of ice we found, we were constrained to  
 enter into an harborow about the sayd entrance called Carpunt,  
 where, because we would not come out of it, we stayed til the  
 ninth of Iune, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of  
 God to saile further then the said Carpunt, which is latitude 51  
 degrees.

The description of Newfoundland, from Cape Razo to  
 Cape Degrad.

THE land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point  
 of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head  
 toward Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. All this part of  
 land is parted into Islands one so near the other, that there are  
 but small riuers betweene them ; thorow the which you may  
 passe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good  
 harborows, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. In  
 one of these Islands that is the highest of them all, being the top  
 of it you may plainly see the two low Islands that are nere to  
 Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it  
 fife and twenty leagues ; and there are two entrances thereat,  
 one on the East, the other on the South side of the Island. But  
 you must take heed of the side and point of the East, because  
 that euery where there is nothing els but shelues, and the water  
 is very shallow : you must go about the Island toward the  
 West the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe  
 toward the South to the sayd Carpunt. Also you are to take  
 heed of three shelues that are in the chanell vnder the water :  
 and toward the Island on the East side in the chanell, the water  
 is of three or four fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other  
 trendeth toward Eastnortheast, and on the West you may go on  
 shore,

Of the Island which is now called S. Katherins Island.

GOING from the point Degrad, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West and by North : there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seuen, either more or lesse then the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Island ; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile ; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island and the Port of Castles trend toward North northeast, and South southwest, and they are about 15. leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the said Bay, that trendeth toward East northeast, and West southwest, there are 12. leagues and an halfe : and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say, the third part athwart the saide Bay the depth being sounded it is about 38. fadomes : and from the said port of Balances to Blanc Sablon or white Sands. the white Sands toward West southwest there is 15. leagues, but you must take heed of a shelve that lyeth about 3. leagues outward from the said white Sands on the Southwest side about water like a boat.

Of the place called Blanc Sablon, or the white Sand : of the Iland of Brest, and of the Iland of Birds, of the sorts and quantitie of birds that there are found : and of the Port called the Islettes.

WHITE Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor southeast. But toward South southwest from the saide road there are two Ilands, one of the which is called Brest Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great store of Godetz, and crows with red beakes and red feete : they make their nestes in holes vnder the ground euen as Conies. A point of land being passed about Brest a place to the North in New-foundland. a league from white Sand, there is a Port and passage found called the Islettes, a better place then white Sand : and there is great fishing. From the said Port of the Islettes vnto another called Brest, the circuit is

about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51. degrees and 55. minutes, and in longitude\*. From the Islettes to that place there are many other Ilands : and the saide Port of Brest is also amongst those Ilands. Moreouer the Ilands do compasse more then 3. leagues from the said Brest, being low, and ouer them are the other lands aboue mentioned scene.

How we with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, and sayling onward toward the West we passed amidst the Islettes, which were so many in number, that it was not possible to tell them : and how we named them the Islettes.

Vpon the 10. of June wee with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, to furnish our selues with water and wood, and to make vs ready to passe the said Bay. Vpon S. Barnabas day Seruice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said Port toward the west, to see what harboroughes were there: wee passed through the midst of the Islettes, which were so many in number that it was not possible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10. leagues beyond the said Port. We to rest our selues stayed in one of them a night, and there we found great store of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their nests, we named them all The Islettes.

Of the Port called S. Antonies Port, S. Seruans Port, Iames Cartiers Port: of the riuier called S. Iames: of the customes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of White Sand.

THE next day we passed the said Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good hauen, which we named S. Antonies Hauen, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little riuier towarde the southwest coast, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we set vp a Crosse, and named it S. Seruans Port: and on the Southwest side of the said Port and riuier, about one league there is a small Iland as round as an Ouen, enuironed about with many other litle Ilands that giue notice to the said Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater riuier, in

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which we tooke a good store of salmon, that we  
 The riuer of S. Iaques. named S. Iames his Riuer. Being in the said riuer,  
 we saw a ship of Rochel that the night before had  
 passed the Port of Brest, where they thought to haue gone a  
 fishing : but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with  
 our boats approched neere vnto it, and did direct it to another  
 Port one league more toward the West than the said riuer of S.  
 Iames, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and  
 therefore wee named it Iames Carthiers Sound. If the soile  
 were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great com-  
 moditie : but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather  
 stones and wilde craggess, and a place fit for wilde beastes, for in  
 all the North Iland I did not see a Cart-load of good earth : yet  
 went I on shoare in many places, and in the Iland of White  
 Sand, there is nothing else but mosse and small thornes scattered  
 here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I beleeeue that  
 this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of  
 an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and vnruely :  
 they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and  
 put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing instead of  
 a nail, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They  
 are clothed with beastes skinness as well the men as women, but  
 that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments  
 than the men do, with their wastes girded : they paint themselues  
 with certaine Roan colours : their boates are made  
 Boats made of the barke of birch trees. of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fish  
 and take great store of Seales, and as farre as we  
 could vnderstand since our comming thither, that is  
 not their habitation, but they come from the maine  
 land our of hotter countreys, to catch the saide seales and other  
 necessaries for their liuing.

Of certaine Capes, that is to say, The double Cape, The pointed  
 Cape, Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke : of the  
 mountaines of Granges : of the Ilands of Doue houses :  
 and of the great fishing of Cods.

Vpon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ships againe  
 with our boats on purpose to saile forwards because the weather  
 was faire, and vpon Sunday we caused Seruice to be saide : then  
 on Munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Brest,

and sailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had seene, that seemed vnto vs to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidst the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one about the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee sounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about vs. From Brest to The double Cape there is about 20. leagues, and about fise or sixe leagues beyond we sounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The said land lieth Northeast and Southwest. The next day being the 16 of the moneth we sailed along the said coast toward the Southwest, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very steepe and wilde hilles, among the which were seene certaine smal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges. The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke mists and fogges of the weather, we could not haue sight of any land, but in the euening we spied an entrance into the land, by a riuier among the said Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southwest about 3 leagues from vs. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North side of which there is a plaine Iland. And because we would haue notice of the said entrance, to see if there were any good hauens, we strooke saile for that night. The next day being the 17 of the moneth we had stormie weather from Northeast, wherefore we tooke our way toward the Southwest vntill Thursday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like doue houses, and therefore wee named them The doue houses. And from the Bay of S. Iulian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West, which wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the West southwest side of the saide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and aboue round. On the North side of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape of milke. Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, aboue which there are also certaine others that shew that there be some riuers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee sounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greatest fishing of Cods that possible may

be : for staying for our company, in lesse then an houre we tooke aboute an hundreth of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene Cape Royall, and  
The Cape of milke.

THE next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with such rage turned against vs, that we were constrained to go backe towards Cape Royal, thinking there to finde some harborough, and with our boates went to discouer betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke, and found that aboute the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The said gulfe on the Southside is shut vp. The fore-said low grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The saide low grounds doe stretch themselues more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile : and in the midst of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude\*. That night we found no harborough, and therefore we lanchd out into the Sea, leauing the Cape toward the West.

Of the Iland called S. Iohn.

FROM the said day vntill the 24 of the moneth being S. Iohns day we had both stormie weather and winde against vs, with such darknesse and mistes, that vntill S. Iohns day, we could haue no sight of any land, and then we had sight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southwest about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggie and mistie, that we could not come neere land, and because it was S. Iohns day, we named it Cape S. Iohn.

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of Margaulx, and of the kinds of beas and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of Brion, and Cape Dolphin.

The next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was also stormie, darke, and windy, but yet we sailed a part of the day toward West North west, and in the euening wee out our

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selues athwart vntill the second quarter ; when as we departed, then did we by our compasse know that we were Northwest and by West about seuen leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. Iohn, and as wee were about to hoise saile, the winde turned into the Northwest, wherefore we went Southeast, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as steepe and vpight as any wall, so that it was not possible to climbe them : and betweene them there is a little rocke. These Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of grasse, which there do make their nestes : and in the greatest of them, there was a great and infinite number of those that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geese, which were seuered in one part. In the other were onely Godetz, but toward the shoare there were of those Godetz, and great Apponatz, like to those of that Iland that we aboue haue mentioned : we went downe to the lowest part of the least Iland, where we killed aboue a thousand of those Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates so many of them as we pleased, for in lesse then one houre we might haue filled thirtie such boats of them : we named them The Ilands of Mar-  
The Islands  
of Margaulx.
gaulx. About fiae leagues from the said Ilands on the West, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth : there did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is enuironed round about with sand, and hath a very gcod road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Those Ilands haue the best soile that euer we saw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peason bloomed, as thicke, as ranke, and as faire as any can be seene in Britaine, so that they seemed to haue bene plowed and sowed. There was also a great store of gooseberies, strawberries, damaske roses, parseley, with other very sweete and pleasant hearbes. About the said Iland  
Morses or  
Sea oxen.
are very great beastes as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouths like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the Sea. We saw one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water : wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the Sea. We also saw beares and wolues : we named it Brions Iland. About it toward Southeast, and Northwest, there are great lakes. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I

thinke that there be some passage betweene New found land, and Brions land. If so it were, it would be a great shortening, aswel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward West-Southwest is the firme land, which seemeth to be as an Iland compassed about with litle Ilands of sands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27. of Iune we compassed the said lands about that lie West Southwest: and a farre off they seeme to be little hilles of sand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, because the winde was against vs. That day we went 15. leagues.

Of the Iland called Alezai, and of the cape of S. Peter.

THE next day we went along the said land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low country. There is also betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole vnto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is fashioned as it were halfe a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, ouer which as farre as ones eye can stretch, there is nothing but marrish grounds and standing pooles. And before you come to the first Cape very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About fiae leagues from the second Cape toward the Southwest, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The first Cape we named S. Peters Cape, because vpon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called Cape Orleans: of the Riuer of boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the country.

FROM Brions Iland to this place there is good anchorage o sand, and hauing sounded toward Southwest euen to the shoare about fiae leagues, wee found twentie and fiae fadome water, and within one league twelue fadome, and very neere the shoare six fadome, rather more then lesse, and also good anchorage. But because wee would bee the better acquainted with this stonie and rockie ground, wee strooke our sailes lowe and



athwart. The next day being the last of the moneth saue one, the winde blewe South and by East. Wee sailed Westward vntill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without any sight or knowledge of any lande except in the euening toward Sunne set, that wee discovered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond vs West southwest, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceiued that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South southeast, and North northwest, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelues and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly riuier, but very shallow, which we named The riuier of boats, because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the riuier. We had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from the sea, and so beat vs against the shore, that wee were constrained to retire our selues with our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first of Iuly we sailed Northeast, in which time there rose great mistes and stormes, and therefore wee strucke our sailes till two of the clocke in the aftermoone, that the weather became cleare, and there we had sight of Cape Orleans, and of another about seuen leagues from vs, lying North and by East, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the Northside of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelve, and banke of stones. Whilst wee were at this Cape, we sawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coast, who made signes vnto vs that we should returne toward the said Cape againe. We seeing such signes, began to turne toward him, but he seeing vs come, began to flee: so soone as we were come on shoare, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a little staffe, and then came to our ships again. That day we trended the said land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde some good harborough, but it was not possible: for as I haue said already, it is a very low land, and enuironed round about with great shelues. Neuerthelesse we went that

An exceed-  
ing goodly  
land.

day on shore in foure places to see the goodly and  
 Varietie of sweete smelling trees that were there: we found  
 goodly trees. them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes,  
 ashes, willowes, with many other sorts of trees to vs vnknownen,  
 but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very  
 faire, and all full of peason, white and red gooseberries, straw-  
 berries, blackeberies, and wilde come, euen like vnto Rie, which  
 seemed to have bene sown and plowed. This countrey is of  
 better temperature then any other that can be seene, and very  
 hote. There are many thrushes, stockdoves, and other birds:  
 to be short, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

Of the Bay called S. Lunario, and other notable Bayes and  
 Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodnesse of those  
 grounds.

THE next day being the second of Iuly we discovered and had  
 sight of land on the Northerne side toward vs, that did joyne  
 vnto the land abouesaid, al compassed about, and we knew that  
 it had about\* in depth, and as much athwart, and we named it  
 S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward  
 the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of  
 a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the  
 Northeast side from the said Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there  
 is another Cape of land, in the middst whereof there is a Bay  
 fashioned trianglewise, very deepe, and as farre off, as we could  
 ken from it the same lieth Northeast. The said Bay is com-  
 passed about with sands and shelues about 10. leagues from  
 land, and there is but two fadome water: from the said Cape to  
 the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being a  
 crosse the said Capes, discovered another land and Cape, and as  
 farre as we could ken, it lay North and by East. All that night  
 the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that wee were  
 constrained to beare a smal saile vntil the next morning, being  
 the thirde of July when the winde came from the West: and we  
 sailed Northward to haue a sight of the land that we had left  
 on the Northeast side, aboue the low lands, among which high  
 and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about  
 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reason of the  
 great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands,

we conceiued hope that we should finde a passage, like vnto the passage of The Castles. The said <sup>The passage de Chasteaux.</sup> gulfe lieth East Northeast, and West southwest.

The ground that lieth on the Southside of the said gulfe, is as good and easie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that euer wee haue seene, as plaine and smooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of sundry sorts: among the rest there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as possibly can be <sup>Trees able to mast ships of 300. tunnes.</sup> seene, able to make mastes for ships of three hundred Tunne: neither did we see any place that was not full of the saide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middest of the said Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

Of the Cape D'Esperance, or the Cape of Hope, and of S. Martins Creeke, and how seven boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themselues, but being terrified with our Culuerins which we shot at them, and our lances, they fled with great hast.

THE Cape of the said South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to finde some passage. The fourth of Iuly we went along the coast of the said land on the Northerly side to find some harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no succour against the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martines Creeke. There we stayed from the fourth of Iuly vntil the twelfth: while we were there, on Munday being the sixth of the moneth, Seruice being done, wee with one of our boates went to discouer a Cape and point of land that on the Western side was about seuen or eight leagues from vs, to see which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee sawe two companies of boates of wilde men going <sup>Fortie or 50</sup> from one land to the other: their boates were in <sup>boates of</sup> number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the <sup>saluages.</sup> which carne to the said point, and a great number of men went on shore making a great noise, beckening vnto vs that wee should come on land, shewing vs certaine skinnes vpon pieces of wood, but because we had but one onely boat, wee would not

goe to them, but went to the other side lying in the See : they seeing vs flee, prepared two of their boats to follow vs, with which came also fve more of them that were comming from the Sea side, all which approched neere vnto our boate, dancing, and making many signes of ioy and mirth, as it were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue Napeu tondamen assurtah, with many other words that we vnderstood not. But because (as we haue said) we had but one boat, wee would not stand to their courtesie, but made signes vnto them that they should turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward vs : and suddenly with their boates compassed vs about : and because they would not away from vs by any signes that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, which did so terrifie them, that they put themselues to flight toward the sayde point, making a great noise : and hauing staid a while, they began anew, euen as at the first to come to vs againe, and being come neere our boat wee stricke at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terrour vnto them, that with great haste they beganne to flee, and would no more follow vs.

How the said wilde men comming to our ships, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the saide wilde men with great ioy began to trafique with our men.

THE next day part of the saide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ships were at road. We being aduertised of their comming, went to the point where they were vnto our boates : but so soone as they saw vs, they began to flee, shewing signes that they came to trafique with us, shewing vs, that they had as they cloth themselues withall, which are of sorne kind. We likewise made signes vnto them, that we wished them good will : and in signe thereof two of our men ventured to goe on land to them, and carry them kniues with other Iron vnto them, and a red hat to giue vnto their Captaine. Which when they saw they also came on land, and brought some of their selves, and so began to deale with vs, seeming to be very glad to see our Iron ware and other things, stil dancing with many other courtesies, as with their hands to cast Sea water on their heads. They gave vs whatsoeuer they had, not keeping any thing, save what they were

constrained to go back againe naked, and made signes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more skinnes with them.

How that we hauing sent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladnesse. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth forth, and of the Bay called Baie du Chaleur, or The Bay of heat.

Vpon Thursday being the eight of the moneth, because the winde was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boates in a readinesse to goe to discouer the said Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we sailed vntil noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said Bay, and how that ouer the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but seeing that there was no passage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coast: and sayling, we saw certaine wilde men that stood vpon the shoare of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, and found that there was a channel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came vnto vs, and brought vp pieces of Seales ready sodden, putting them vpon pieces of wood: then retiring themselves, they would make signes vnto vs, that they did giue them vs. We sent two men vnto them with hatchets, kniues, beads, and other such like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in clusters they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them skinnes and other such things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more than 300. men, women, and children: Some of the women which came not ouer, wee might see stand vp to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the riuier where we were, came very friendly to vs, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them vp toward heauen, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoeuer they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gaue vs all whatsoeuer they had, and that was but of small value. We perceiued that this people might very easily be conuerted to

Three hundred gentle  
Sauages.

our Religion. They goe from place to place. They liue onely with fishing. They haue an ordinarie time to fish for their prouision. The countrey is hotter than the countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth, and leuel. There is no place be it neuer so little, but it hath some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like vnto Rie : the corne is like oates, and smal peason as thicke as if they had bene sowed and plowed, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackberies, Baye du Char- white and red Roses, with many other floures of very leur, or the sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many Bay of heat. goodly medowes full of grasse, and lakes wherein great plentie of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon : we named it The bay of heat.

Of another nation of wilde men : of their manners, liuing and clothing.

BEing certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoisted saile, and went from S. Martines Creeke vpon Sunday being the 12. of July, to goe and discouer further beyond the said Bay, and went along the sea coast Eastward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the Sea stormie, so that we were constrained to draw toward shore, between the said Cape and an Iland lying Eastward, about a league from the said Cape, where we cast anker for that night. The next morning we hoisted saile to trend the said coast about, which lyeth North Northeast. But there rose such a stormie and raging winde against vs, that we were constrained to turne to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we stay all that day til the next that we hoisted vp saile, and went to the middest of a riuier fife or sixe leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being ouerthwart the said Riuer there arose againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and stormie. So that we were constrained vpon Tuesday being the thirteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuier, and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thursday, the wind began to rage that one of our ships lost an anker, and we were constrained to goe vp higher into the riuier seuen or eight leagues,

into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the euill weather, tempest, and darkenesse that was, wee stayed in the saide harborough till the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee sawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boates were about 40, and the persons what with men, women, and children two hundred, which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides of our ships. We gaue them kniues, combes, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for which they made many signes of gladnesse, lifting their hands vp to heauen dancing and singing in their boates. These men may very well and truely be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets was not worth fiue souce.\* They goe altogether naked sauing their priuities, which are couered with a little skinne, and certaine olde skinnes that they cast vpon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found first: their heads be altogether shauen, except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow vpon the top of their crowne as long as a horse taile, and then with certaine leather strings binde it in a knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne vpside downe, and vnder them they lay themselues all along vpon the bare ground. They ate their flesh almost raw, saue onely that they heat it a little vpon imbers of coales, so doe they their fish. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the riuer, and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signs, and all their men in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our comming. They had caused all the young women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that stayed with them, to ech of which we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw vs giue something vnto those that had stayed, it caused al the rest to come out of the wood, to the end that that they should haue as much as the others: These women are about twenty, who

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\* Sous.

altogether in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their manner of cherishing and making much of one, who gaue to each of them a little Tinne bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs. There we found great store of mackrels, that they had taken vpon the shore, with certaine nets that they made to fish, of a kinde of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they neuer come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I vnderstand, there groweth likewise a kind of

Maize. Millet as big as Peason, like vnto that which groweth

in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread. They had great store of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They haue also Prunes (that is to say Damsins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honesta. They haue also Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cabehya. If we shewed them any thing that they haue not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much to say, they haue it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they haue, they would with signes shew vs how to dresse them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taste of salt. They are very great theeuers, for they will filch and steale whatsoever they can lay hold of, and all is fish that commeth to net.

¶ How our men set vp a great Crosse vpon the poynt of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

Vpon the 25 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, vpon the point of the entrance of the sayd haven, in the midst whereof we hanged vp a Shield with three Floure de Lyses in it, and in the top was carued in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, Viue le Roy de France. Then before them all we set it vpon the sayd point. They with great heed beheld the making and setting of it vp. So soone as it was vp, we all kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward the yeelding God thanks: and we made signes vnto them, shewing them the Heauens, and that all our saluation depended on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a good

This haven  
seemeth to  
be Gaspay.



admiration, looking first one at another, and then vpon the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came vnto vs in one of their boates, but they came not so neere vs as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration vnto vs, shewing vs the crosse we had set vp, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew vs all the Countrey about vs, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set vp any crosse without his leaue. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Axe, faining that we would giue it him for his skin, to which he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellows that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and <sup>Two sauaiges taken.</sup> suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, whereat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should haue no harme, nor any iniurie offred them at all, and entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with vs, and afterward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about euery ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gaue they their old clothes to their fellows that went backe againe, and we gaue to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some kniues, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the newes vnto their fellows, in the after noone there came to our ships sixe boates of them, with fiue or sixe men in euery one, to take their farewels of those two we had detained to take with vs, and brought them some fish, vttering many words which we did not vnderstand, making signes that they would not remoue the crosse we had set vp.

¶ How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discouer the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

THE next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire

weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the riuier, we sailed Eastnortheast, for after the entrance into the said riuier, the land is enuironed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and Northwest, the course of which was distant from the riuier about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape S. Aluise, and Cape Memorancie, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and suddenly went ouer it.

ON Munday being the 27 of the moneth, about sunne-set we went along the said land, as we haue said, lying Southeast and Northwest, till Wednesday that we saw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the East: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we sounded, and found 24 fadome water. The said lands are plaine, and the fairest and most without woods that we haue seene, with goodly greene fields and medowes: we named the sayd Cape S. Aluise Cape, because that was his day: it is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and in longitude\*. On Wednesday morning we were on the East side of the Cape, and being almost night we went Northwestward for to approch neere to the sayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Aluise Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fiteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northwest. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we would needes sound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the said land about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the first of August, by Sunne rising, wee had certaine other land, lying North and Northeast, that were very high and craggy, and seemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and riuers: wee went about the sayd land, as if it were either a gulfe, or a passage, vntill the fift of the moneth. The distance from one land to the other is about fiteene leagues.

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\* Blank in original,

The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go fve miles farther, the winds were so great and the tide against vs. And at fve miles end, we might plainely see and perceiue land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread it selfe, but because we rather fell, then got way against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthestmost out into the sea that we could see, about fve leagues from vs, but so soone as we came thither, we found it to be naught else but Rockes, stones, and craggie cliffes, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed Southward from S. Iohns Cape : and then was the tide with vs, which caried vs against the wind Westward, so that as we were sayling along the sayd coast, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and suddenly went ouer, but we were constrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

How after we had agreed and consulted what was best to be done, we purposed to returne: and of S. Peters Streight, and of Cape Tiennot.

AFTER we had sailed along the sayd coast, for the space of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne against vs, with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for vs with 13 oares to row or get one stones cast farther, so that we were constrained to leaue our boates with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the sayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southwest, which hauing seene, we came to our boats againe, and so to our ships, which were stil ready vnder saile, hoping to go forward : but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soone as we came, wee assembled together all our Captaines, Masters, and Mariners, to haue their aduice and opinion what was best to be done : and after that euery one had said, considering that the Easterly winds began to beare away, and blow, and that the flood was so great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that stormes and tempests began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were so farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to

returne home againe, or els to stay there all the yeere. Moreover, we did consider, that if the Northerne winds did take vs, it were not possible for vs to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to addresse our selues homeward. Nowe because vpon Saint Peters day wee

entred into the sayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters  
 The Streit of S. Peter. Streite. Wee sounded it in many places, in some

wee found 150 fadome water, in some 100, and neere the shoare sixtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wednesday following, we had a good and prosperous gale of winde, so that we trended the said North shore East, Southeast, West Northwest: for such is the situation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeast, about twenty fve leagues from the Streight. In this place we saw certaine smokes, that the people of the countrey made vpon the sayd cape: but because the wind blewe vs toward the coast, we went not to them, which when they saw, they came with two boates and twelue men vnto vs, and as freely came vnto our ships, as if they had bene French men, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that they came from the great gulfe,\* and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was vpon that Cape, making signes vnto vs, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with Fish. We named the sayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said Cape all the land trendeth East-southeast, and Westnorthwest. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, enuironed with sand, where the sea is entermingled with marishes and shallowes, the space of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from West to Eastnortheast altogether enuironed with Islands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could see, are many dangerous shelues more then foure or fve leagues from land.

How that vpon the ninth of August wee entred within White Sands, and vpon the fift of September we came to the Port of S. Malo.

FROM the sayd Wednesday vntill Saturday following we had a great wind from the Southwest, which caused vs to trend northeast, on which day we came to the Easterly part of Newfoundland, between the Granges and the Dou.

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\* Gulf of Mexico.

There began great stormie windes comming from the East with great rage : wherefore we coasted the Cape Northnorthwest, to search the Northerne part, which is (as we haue sayd) all enuironed with Islands, and being neere the said Islands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought vs within the sayd gulfe, so that the next day being the 9 of August, we by the grace of God entred within the white Sands. And this is so much as we haue discouered. After that, vpon the 15 of August, being the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, after that we had heard seruice, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and prosperous weather we came into the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and Britanie, in which place we were tost and turmoyled three dayes long with great stormes and windy tempests comming from the East, which with the ayde and assistance of God we suffred : then had we faire weather, and vpon the fift of September, in the sayd yere, we came to the Port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is spoken in the Land newly  
discouered, called New France.

|             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| God         | Isnez        |
| the Sunne   | camet        |
| the Heauen  |              |
| the Day     | aiagla       |
| the Night   | ame          |
| Water       | estogaz      |
| Sand        | aganie       |
| a sayle     | agonaze      |
| the Head    | conguedo     |
| the Throate | hehonguesto  |
| the Nose    | hesangue     |
| the Teeth   | agetascu     |
| the Nayles  | ochedasco    |
| the Feete   | anoudasco    |
| the Legs    | amocdaza     |
| a dead man  | aionasca     |
| a Skinne    | ycha         |
| that Man    | asogne       |
| a Hatchet   | gadagoursere |
| a Cod fish  |              |

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|                     |            |
|---------------------|------------|
| good to be eaten    | guesande   |
| Flesh               |            |
| Almonds             | anougaza   |
| Figs                | asconda    |
| Gold                | henyosco   |
| the priuie members  | assegnega  |
| an Arrow            | cacta      |
| a greene Tree       | haueda     |
| an earthen dish     | vndaco     |
| a Bow               |            |
| Brasse              | aignetaze  |
| the Brow            | ansce      |
| a Feather           | yco        |
| the Moone           | casmogan   |
| the Earth           | conda      |
| the Wind            | canut      |
| the Raine           | onnoscon   |
| Bread               | cacacomy   |
| the Sea             | amet       |
| a Ship              | casaomy    |
| a Man               | vndo       |
| the Haires          | hoc hosco  |
| the Eyes            | ygata      |
| the Mouth           | heche      |
| the Eares           | hontasco   |
| the Armes           | agescu     |
| a Woman             | enrasesco  |
| a sicke Man         | alouedeché |
| Shooes              | atta       |
| a skinne to couer a | } ouscozon |
| mans priuy members  |            |
| red cloth           | vondico    |
| a Knife             | cahoneta   |
| a Mackrell          | agoheda    |
| Nuttes              | agedoneta  |
| Apples              | caheya     |
| Beanes              | honesta    |
| a Sword             | sahe       |
|                     | achesco    |

A shorte and briefe narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and diuers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap. 1.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1535, vpon Whitsunday, being the 16. of May, by the commandement of our Captaine Iames Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo we deuoutly each one confessed our selues, and receiued the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the sayd Church, wee presented our selues before the Reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed vs all, being in his Bishops robes. The Wednesday following, being the 19. of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships, that is to say, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twentie tunne, wherein the foresaid Captaine Iames Cartier was Generall, and master Thomas Frosmont chiefe Master, accompanied with master Claudius de Pont Briand, sonne to the Lorde of Montceuell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraiies, Iohn Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the second ship called the little Hermina, being of threescore tunne burden, were Captaines vnder the sayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and Master William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. Iames Maringare. So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, vntill the 20 of the said moneth, at which time the weather turned into stormes and tempests, the which with contrary winds, and darkenesse, endured so long that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that euer went on seas: so that the 25 of Iune, by reason of that foule and foggie weather, all our ships lost sight one of another againe till wee came to Newfoundland where wee had appointed to meete. After we had lost one another, wee in the Generals ship were with contrary winds tost to and fro on the sea, vntill the seuenth of Iuly, vpon which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Island is so full of birds, that all our ships might easily haue bene fraughted with them, and yet for the great number that there is,

it would not seeme that any were taken away. We to victuall  
 our selues filled two boats of them. This Island hath  
 The Isle of birds in 49 the Pole eleuated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Vpon  
 degrees 40 the eight of the sayd moneth we sailed further, and  
 minutes. The Bay des with a prosperous weather, came to the Port called  
 Chasteaux The Port of white sands, that is in the Bay called The  
 or The Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meete and  
 Grand Bay. stay together the 15 of the said moneth. In this place  
 therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to say, the other two  
 ships, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together.  
 So soone as our fellowes were come, we set our ships in a  
 readines, taking in both water, wood, and other necessaries.  
 And then on the 29 of the sayd moneth, early in the morning we  
 hoised saile to passe on further, and sayling along the Northerne  
 coast that runneth Northeast and Southwest, til two houres after  
 Sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed along two Islands, which  
 doe stretch further forth then the others, which we called S.  
 Williams Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from  
 the Port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place  
 lieth East and West, Northeast and Southwest, hauing betweene  
 it sundry little Islands, altogether barren and full of stones,  
 without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The  
 next day being the 30 of Iuly, we sailed on Westward to find out  
 other Islands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a  
 halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full  
 of Islands and great creekes, where many good harboroughs  
 seeme to be: them we named S. Marthas Islands, from which  
 about a league and a halfe further into the sea there is a danger-  
 ous shallow, wherein are fūe rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas  
 Islands about seuen leagues as you passe into the sayd Islands,  
 on the East and on the West side, to which we came the sayd  
 day an houre after noone, and from that houre vntill midni. we  
 sailed about fīteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Islands,  
 which we named S. Germans Islands Southeastward, from which  
 place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous shallow.  
 Likewise betweene S. Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about  
 two leagues from the sayd Islands, there lyeth a banke of sand,  
 vpon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe. And  
 therefore seeing the danger of the coast, we strucke saile and  
 went no further that night: The next day being the last of Iuly,  
 we went all along the coast that runneth East and West,



somewhat Southeasterly which is all enuironed about with Islands and drie sands, and in trueth it very dangerous. The length from S. Germans Cape to the said Islands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast be compassed about with sands without any signe or shew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth Northwest about seuen leagues from the foresaid Islands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we sailed on all that night West and Westnorthwest, till it was day, and then the wind turned against vs, wherefore we went to seeke a hauen wherein we might harbour our ships, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpose, about seuen leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, and that we named S. Nicholas Hauen, it lieth amidst 4 Islands that stretch into the sea: Vpon the neerest wee for a token set vp a woodden crosse. But note by the way, that this crosse must be brought Northeast, and then bending toward it, leaue it on the left hand and you shall find sixe fadome water, and within the hauen foure. Also you are to take heede of two shelues that leane outward halfe a league. All this coast is full of shoulds and very dangerous, albeit in sight many good hauens seeme to be there, yet is there nought else but shelues and sands. We staid and rested our selues in the sayd hauen, vntill the seuenth of August being Sunday: on which day we hoysed sayle, and came toward land on the South side toward Cape Rabast, distant from the sayd hauen about twentie leagues Northnorth-east, and Southsouthwest: but the next day there rose a stormie and a contrary winde, and because we could find no hauen there toward the South, thence we went coasting along toward the North, beyond the abouesayd hauen about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Islands, passages, and entrances toward what wind soeuer you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Island that is like to a Cape of lande, stretching somewhat further forth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill fashioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the sayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the sayd moneth wee went from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, saying Westward, and discouered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth West and by South, distant from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about fiae and twenty leagues.

A Cape of  
the Isle of  
Assumption.

And of the two wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde vs, that this was part of the Southerne coaste, and that there was an Island, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes iourney from the sayd Cape, and Island began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North shore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the sayd Cape, there is

A mighty  
skull of  
Whales.

about a hundreth fadome water. Moreouer I beleuee that there were neuer so many Whales seen as wee saw that day about the sayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of August the fifteenth of the moneth, hauing passed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Island of the Assumption, and one Cape of the said high countreys lyeth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest, the distance betweene which is about fife and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainly be perceiued to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the sayd landes about toward the South: from the sayd day vntill Tewesday noone following, the winde came West, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purposing to goe and see the land that we before had spied. Being arriued there, we found the sayd landes, as it were ioyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are vpon the sayd low lands stretch East, and West, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told vs that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirty leagues distance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The sayd men did moreouer vnto vs, that there was the way and beginning of the great riuer of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which riuer the further it went the narrower it becomen vnto Canada, and that then there was fresh water, and went so farre vpwads, that they had neuer heard of any man had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage with small boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and they did affirme no other passage to be there, would not time proceede any further, till he had seene and noted the

lands, and coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence his gulfe, because he would know, if between the lands toward the North any passage might be discovered.

How our Captaine caused the ships to returne backe againe, only to know if in Saint Laurence gulfe there were any passage toward the North.

### Chap. 2.

Vpon the 18 of August being Wednesday, our Captaine caused his shippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other shore, so that we trended the said Northerly cost, which runneth Northeast and Southwest, being fashioned like vnto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not so high as that on the South parts. The Thursday following we came to seuen very high Islands, which we named The round Islands. These Islands are distant from the South shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about 3 or 4 leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats compassed about. Ouertwart these lands there are diuers sandy shelues more then two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a riuer of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it the water is as fresh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred in the sayd riuer, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome and a halfe of water. There are in this riuer many fishes shaped like horses, which as our wild men told vs, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therein a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoysed saile, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the sayd Northerne coast, which as yet we had not seene, and of the Island of the Assumption which wee went to discover, departing from the sayd land: which thing so soone as we had done, and that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships againe, which we had left at the said Islands, where is a good harborough,

The Isle of  
Assumption  
or Natis-  
cotec.

the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the same place by occasion of contrary winds and foggie mists, we were constrained to stay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoise saile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed and came to a hauen on the Southerly coast about 80 leagues from the said

**A hauen on** Islands. This hauen is ouer against three flat Islands the Southerne that lie amidst the riuier, because on the midway coast.

betweene those Islands, and the sayd hauen toward the North, there is a very great riuier that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the sea it hath many shelues, and there is not altogether two fadome water, so that the place is very dangerous: and neere vnto the said shelues, there is either fiteene or 20 fadomes from shore to shore. All the Northerly coaste runneth Northeast and by North, and Southwest and by South. The said hauen wherin we stayed on the South side, is as it were but a sluice of the waters that rise by the flood, and but of smal accompt: we named them S. Iohns Islets, because we found them, and entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the said hauen, there is an Island lying Eastward about 5 leagues distant from the same: betweene which and the land there is no passage sauuing only for smal boats. The hauen of S. Iohns Islets dryeth vp all the waters that rise by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the least. The best place to harborough ships therein is on the South part of a little Island that is ouer against the said hauen, whereby the bancke or shore of the Island riseth. Vpon the first of September we departed out of the said hauen, purposing to go toward Canada; and about 15 leagues from it toward the West, and Westsouthwest, amidst the riuier, there are three

**This is the** Islands, ouer against the which there is a riuier which  
**riuier of** runneth swift, and is of a great depth, and it is that  
**Tadascu, or** which leadeth, and runneth into the country, and  
**of Saguenay.** kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of

Canada it was told vs. This riuier passeth and runneth  
very high and steepe hills of bare stone, where very little earth is,  
and notwithstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of  
trees that grow in the said bare stones, euen as vpon good and  
fertile ground, in such sort that we haue seene some so good  
wel would suffice to make a mast for a ship of 30 tunne burthen,  
and as greene as possibly can be, growing in a stony rocke  
out any earth at all. At the entrance of the sayd riuier we met

with 4 boats full of wild men, which as far as we could perceiue, very fearfully came toward vs, so that some of them went backe againe, and the other came as neere vs as easily they might heare and vnderstand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, vpon whose word they came to vs. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the sayd riuer to go to Canada, and by reason of the seas flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Islands, about which, more then three leagues compasse, lie many rocks and great stones, and but two fadome water: and the flowing amidst those Islands is very vnconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to lose our Pinnesse: and coasting along the said drie sands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

About fiue leagues beyond the riuer of Saguenay Southwest, there is another Iland on the Northside, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to haue cast anker, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight shoot from shore, so that we were constrained to winde backe to the said Iland, where wee sounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoysed saile and went thence, sayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fish neuer before of any man seene or knownen. They are about the bignes of a porpose, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogether as white as snow without any spot, within which riuer there is great quantitie of them: they doe liue altogether betweene the Sea and the fresh water. These people of the Countrey call them Adthothuys, they tolde vs that they be very sauory and good to be eaten. Moreouer they affirme none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that riuer. The sixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more vpward into the riuer, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little hauen or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewise great quantitie of the said Adthothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeaux in France at euery tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many sorts.

Among the rest there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in sauour then

The Ile of ours, but somewhat harder, and therefore we called it Condres or The Iland of Filberds. The seuenth of the moneth Filberds.

being our Ladies euen, after seruice we went from that Iland to goe vp higher into the riuer, and came to 14 Ilands seuen or eight leagues from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and fiae in bredth, greatly inhabited of such men as onely liue by fishing of such sorts of fishes as the riuer affordeth,

This great Iland is called The Ile of Orleans, according to the season of them. After we had cast anchor betwene the said great Iland, and the Northerly coast, we went on land and tooke our two wild men

with vs, meeting with many of theso countrey people, who would not at all approach vnto vs, but rather fled from vs, vntill our two men began to speake vnto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who so soone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to reioyce, dancing and shewing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefest

Maiz. of them came to our boats and brought many Eeles and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muske millions. The same day came also many other boates full of those countrey men and weomen, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously receiued and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as possibly could be. And to haue them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gaue them many small gifts, but of small value: neuerthelesse they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelue boats came to our ships, accompanied with many people, who causing ten of his boates to goe backe with the same two, approached vnto vs with sixteene men. Then beganne the said Agouhanna ouer against the smallest of our ships, according to their maner and fashion, to frame a long Oration, mouing of his bodie and members after a strange fashion, which thing was a ceremonie and signe of gladnesse and securitie among them, and then comming to the Generals ship, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he spake with them and they with him, where he began to tell and shew vnto him what they had seen and

France, and what good entertainment they had had: hearing which things the said Lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kisse it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for so they vse to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and satisfied. Our Captaine for that time gaue them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity. These things being done, ech one tooke leaue of others, and the said Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then caused our boates to be set in order, that with the next tide he might goe vp higher into the riuer, to find some safe harborough for our ships: and we passed vp the riuer against the streame about tenne leagues, coasting the said Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little riuer and hauen, where by reason of the flood there is about three sadome water. This place seemed to vs very fit and commodious to harbour our ships therein, and so we did very safely, we named it the holy Crosse, for on that day we came thither. Neere vnto it, there is a village, whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees euen as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Ashes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring forth fruit as bigge as any damsons, and many other sortes of trees, vnder which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any seede or any mans worke or labour at all. Hauing considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our Captaine withdrew himselfe on purpose to returne to our ships: but behold, as we were comming out of the riuer we met comming against vs one of the Lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, weomen, and children, who after the fashion of their country, in signe of mirth and ioy, began to make a long Oration, the women still singing and dancing vp to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kinnesse toward vs, caused the boat wherein they were, to come vnto him, and gaue them certaine trifles, as kniues, and beades of glasse, whereat they were maruellous glad, for being gone about

Santa Croix.

Goodly hempe.

leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceiued of our comming we might heare them sing, and see them dance for all they were so farre.

How our Captaine went to see and note the bignesse of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ships, causing them to be brought to the riuer of The holy Crosse.

### Chap. 3.

AFTER we were come with our boats vnto our ships againe, our Captaine caused our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the said Iland, to note the trees that in shew seemed so faire, and to consider the nature and qualitie of it: which things we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Also we saw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of vs seene in those countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland.

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans. It is in length about twelue leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, vnlesse it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fishers dwellings as before we haue said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the holy Crosse, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of those people, came to meete vs, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry and diuers gestures of gladnesse and mirth, except those two that he had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, aud Domagaia, who seemed to haue altered and changed their mind, and purpose, for by no meanes they would come vnto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to doe it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga? They answered yea for so they had purposed, and then ech one withdrew himselfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on shore, to cause certaine poles and piles to be driuen into the water, and set vp, that the better and safelier we might haue our ships there: and many of those countrey people came to meete vs there, among whom was Donnacona and our two



with the rest of their company, who kept themselves aside vnder a point or nooke of land that is vpon the shore of a certaine riuer, and no one of them came vnto vs as the other did that were not on their side. Our Captaine vnderstanding that they were there commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the saide point where he found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny Domagaia, and diuers other: and after salutations giuen on ech side, Taignoagny settled himselfe formost to speake to our Captaine, saying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieue and sorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine answered, that albeit it did greeue them yet would not he leaue them off, and that (as he knew) It was the maner of France. But for all these words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to speake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceiue, that whatsoeuer Taignoagny spake, was onely long of himselfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a maruellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, cast out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one hauing taken leaue of the other for that day, we went aboard againe. The day following we brought our two great shippes within the riuer and harborough, where the waters being at the highest, are three fadome deepe, and at the lowest, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinnesse without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soone as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny and Domagaia, with more then fiae hundred persons, men, women and children, and the said Lord with ten or twelue of the chiefest of the countrey came aboard of our ships, who were all courteously receiued, and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of vs all: and diuers gifts of small value were giuen them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Captaine, that his Lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them should goe with him, because the riuer was of no importance. Our Captaine answered him, that for all his saying, he would not leaue off his going thither, if by any meanes it were possible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as possibly he could: and that if he (that is to say Taignoagny) would goe wth him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained, beside that, he should haue such a gift

giuen him, as he should well content himselfe: for he should doe nothing else but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they sodainly returned to their houses. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned euen as at the first, and brought with him many Eeles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said riuer, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted use they beganne to sing and dance. This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be set on the one side: then making a round circle vpon the sand he caused our Captaine with all his people to enter therinto, then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelue yeeres old, which he presented vnto our Captaine: then sodainly beganne all his people to make three great shreeks, or howles, in signe of ioy and league of friendship: presently vpon that he did present vnto him two other young male children one after another, but younger then the other, at the giuing of which euen as before they gaue out shreeks and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which presents, our Captaine, gaue the saide Lorde great and hearty thanks. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter vnto the said Lords owne sister, and the presents were only giuen him to the end he should not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine answered, that if they were only giuen him to that intent, if so he would, he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leaue his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had giuen him those children as a signe and token of goodwill and security, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, vpon which talke great wordes arose between Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainly perceiued that Taignoagny was but a crafty knaue, and that he intended much mischief and treason, as well by this deede as others that we had seen. After that our Captaine caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two Swords and two copes of Basons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought vnto him, and them he gaue to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding most heartie thanks vnto our Captaine.

them, and presently vpon that he commanded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our Captaine to cause a peece of artillerie to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them maruellous things, and also, because they had nuer heard nor seene any before: to whom our Captaine answered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelue cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noyse they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heauen had fallen vpon them, and put themselues to flight, howling, crying, and shreeking, so that it seemed hell was broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagny caused other men to tell vs, that those men which we had left in our Pinnesse in the road, had slaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselues all to flight, as though they should all haue bene slaine: which afterward we found vntrue, because our men had not shot off any peece at all that day.

How Donnacona and Taignoagny with others, deuised a prettie sleight or pollicie: for they caused three of their men to be attired like Diuels, faying themselues to be sent from their God Cudruaigny, onely to hinder our voyage to Hochelaga.

#### Chap. 4.

THE next day being the eighteenth of September, these men still endeououred themselues to seeke all meanes possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deuised a prettie guile, as hereafter shalbe shewed. They went and dressed three men like Diuels, being wrapped in dogges skinnnes white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ships as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two houres, looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Diuels were, might approach and come neere vs, which when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood comming to vs, but yet not so neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to salute our Captaine, who asked him if he would

haue the boate to come for him ; he answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come vnto our ships : then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit Diuels were with such long hornes on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long Oration and passed along our ships with out turning or looking toward vs, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and Diuels, who so soone as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boate, euen as if they had beene dead : then were they taken vp and carried into the wood, being but a stones cast off, then euery one withdrew himselfe into the wood, not one staying behind with vs, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might heare them in our ships, which lasted aboue halfe an houre, and being ended we began to espie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards vs, holding their hands vpward ioyned together, carying their hats vnder their vpper garment, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking vp to heauen, cryed three times Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Iesus Maria, Iames Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ailed, and what was happened or chanced anew ; they answered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, saying in French, Nenni est il bon, that is to say, it was not good : our Captaine asked them againe what it was, then answered they, that their God Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochleaga : and that he had sent those three men to shewe vnto them that there was so much yce and snow in that countrey, that whosoeuer went thither should die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them saying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said : then bade we them shew his messengers from vs, that Christ would defend them all from colde, if they would beleue in him. Then did they aske of our Captaine if he had spoken with Iesus : he answered no, but that his Priests had, and that he told them they should haue faire weather : which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell those newes vnto their felowes, who sodainly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words that our Captaine had spoken, and to shew that thereby they had had, and felt great ioy, so soone as they were before our ships,

they altogether gaue out three great shreekes, and thereupon beganne to sing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them should goe with him to Hochelaga vnlesse he would leaue him some hostage to stay with him : our Captaine answered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they should stay, and that for all them he would not leaue off his journey thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinnesse, and the two boates from Canada to goe to Hochelaga : and also there is described, what was seene by the way vpon tne said riuier.

#### Chap. 5.

THE next day being the 19 of September we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and two boates departed to goe vp the riuier with the flood, where on both shores of it we beganne to see as goodly a countrey as possibly can with eye be seene, all replenished with very goodly trees, and <sup>Vines laden with grapes.</sup> Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the riuier, which rather seemed to haue bin planted by mans hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweete as ours : also we sawe all along the riuier many houses inhabited of Fishers, which take all kindes of fishes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindnesse vnto vs, as if we had beene their Countrey men, and brought vs great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting vp their hands toward heauen, gaue many signes of ioy : we stayed <sup>Hochelay.</sup> at a place called Hochelai, about fiue and twentie leagues from Canada, where the riuier waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but also for certaine great stones that are therein : Many boates and barkes came vnto vs, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long discourse, who being come neere vs, did by euident signes and gestures shew vs, that the higher the riuier went, the more dangerous it was,

and bade vs take heede of our selues. The said Lord presented and gaue vnto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 yeres old, the man child he gaue him againe, because it was too yong, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteously as he could did entertaine and receiue the said Lord and his company, giuing them certaine small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore againe. Afterwards the sayd Lord and his wife came vnto Canada to visite his daughter, bringing vnto our Captaine certaine small presents. From the nineteenth vntill the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed vp along the saide riuier, neuer losing one houre of time, all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a countrey as possibly can be wished for, full (as we haue said before) of all sorts of goodly trees, that is to say, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Ashes, Boxe, Willowes, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellowes went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partridges, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales, Sparrowes of diuerse kindes, with many other sorts of Birds, euen as in France, and great plentie and store. Vpon the 28 of

The lake of  
Angolesme.

September we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the riuier fise or sixe leagues broad, and twelue long, all that day we went against the tide, hauing but two fadome water, still keeping the sayd scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espie no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to haue bene closed and shut vp round about, and there was but a fadome and an halfe of water, little more or lesse. And therefore we were constrayned to cast anker, and to stay with our Pinnesse, and went with our two boates to seeke some going out, and in one place we found foure or fise branches, which out of the riuier come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fiercenesse and swiftnesse wherewith they breake out, and the course of the water, they make certaine barres and shoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Those Shouldes being passed, we found foure or fise fadome, and as farre as we could perceiue by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All these foure or fise branches do

compasse about fīue or sixe Ilands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fīfteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the saide Islands, and met with fīue men that were hunting of wilde beastes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had euer bene brought vp together. Our boates being somewhat neere the shore, one of them tooke our Captaīue in his armes, and caried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had bene a child of fīue yeeres old: so strong and sturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wild Rats that liue in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gaue vnto our Captaīne, who for a recompence gaue them kniues and glassen Beades. We asked them with signes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three dayes sayling thither.

How our Captaīne caused our boates to be mended and dressed to goe to Hochelaga: and because the way was somewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinnesse behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainment we had of the people.

#### Chap. 6.

THE next day our Captaīne seeing that for that time it was not possible for our Pinnesse to goe on any further, he caused our boates to be made readie, and as much their munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanied with many Gentlemen, that is to say, Cladius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, Iohn Gouion, Iohn Powlet, with twentie and eight Mariners: and Mace Iallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge vnder the Captaīne of the other two ships, to goe vp as farre as they could into that riuier: we sayled with good and prosperous weather vntill the second of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our Pinnesse fīue and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and

Hochelaga  
distant from  
the lake of  
Angolesme  
45 leagues.

all the way we went, we met with many of those countriemen, who brought vs fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly reioycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gaue them kniues, beades, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied. So soone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete vs aboue a thousand persons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another: after that they brought vs great store of fish, and of their bread made of Millet, casting them into our boates so thicke, that you would haue thought it to fall from heauen. Which when our Captaine sawe, he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as euer we were aland they came clustring about vs, making very much of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and shewes of great mirth and gladnesse, that lasted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine seeing their louing kindnesse and entertainment of vs, caused all the women orderly to be set in aray, and gaue them Beades made of Tinne, and other such small trifles. and to some of the men he gaue kniues: then he returned to the boates to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as neere our boates as they might, making gteat fires, and dauncing very merily, still crying Aguiaze, which in their tonge signifieth Mirth and Safetie.

How our Captaine with fve gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the towne of Hochelaga, and the situation of it.

#### Chap. 7.

OVr Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, hauing very gorgeously attired himselfe, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the towne and habitation of those people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also fve

The third  
of October.



Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leauing the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with vs three men of Hochelaga to bring vs to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best cuntry that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, vnder which the ground was all couered ouer with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or fiue miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest Lords of the citie, accompanied with many moe, who so soone as he sawe vs beckned and made signes vpon vs, that we must rest vs in that place

Hochelaga  
sixe miles  
from the  
riuer side.

where they had made a great fire, and so we did. After that we had rested our selues there a while, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, euen as we haue saide aboue, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Captaine and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will, who gaue him two hatchets, a paire of kniues and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gaue our Captaine heartie thanks. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such come as the countrie yeeldieth. It is euen as the

This Millet  
is Maiz.

Millet of Bresil, as great and somewhat bigger than small peason, wherewith they liue euen as we doe with ours. In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were ioyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse aboue. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly ioyned together after their fashion, This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Ouer it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get vp, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelue, or fiteene broad, built all of wood, couered ouer with the barke of the wood as

The  
description of  
Hochelaga.

Hochelaga  
distant from  
the lake of  
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and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine  
and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had  
not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women  
on another, and likewise the children on another: after that they  
brought vs great store of fish, and of their bread made of Millet,  
casting them into our boates so thicke, that you would haue  
thought it to fall from heauen. Which when our Captaine sawe,  
he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as euer  
we were aland they came clustring about vs, making very much  
of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue  
our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and  
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The third of October. pany to be set in order to go to see  
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that is somewhat neere the citie:



broad as any boord, very finely and cunning ioyned together. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the midst of euery one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They liue in common together: then doe the husbands, wiues and children each one retire themselues to their chambers. They haue also on the top of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They haue certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beat our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then couer it with hote stones, and so they bake their bread in stead of Ouens.

Maiz, pease, They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said  
 beanes, musk- corne and also of pease and of beanes, whereof they  
 millions, cu- haue great store, as also with other fruits, as Muske-  
 cumbers, and other Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They haue  
 fruits. also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any  
 Plentie of But or Tun, wherein they preserue and keepe their  
 fish and the fish, causing the same in sommer to be dried in the  
 preseruing sunne, and liue therewith in winter, whereof they  
 thereof.

make great prouision, as we by experience haue seene. All their viands and meates are without any taste or sauour of salt at all. They sleepe vpon barkes of trees laide all along vpon the ground being ouer-spread with the skinnes of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and couer themselues. The thing most precious that they haue in all the world they call Asurgny: it is as white as any snow: they take it in the said riuier of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deserued death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, first they kill him, then with certaine kniues they giue great slashes and strokes vpon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and shoulders: then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottome of the riuier, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leaue it ten or 12 houres, then they take it vp againe, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their necks, euen as we doe chaines of gold and siluer, accounting it the precioussest thing in the world. They haue this vertue and propertie in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we haue proued it. These

Esurgni  
 good to  
 stanch blood.

people are giuen to no other exercise, but onely to husbandrie and fishing for their sustenance : they haue no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they haue no knowledge of it, and that is, because they neuer trauell and go out of their countrey, as those of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongst the riuier be subiects vnto them.

How we came to the Towne of Hochelaga, and the entertainment which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gaue them, with diuers other things.

### Chap. 8.

SO soone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselves before vs after their fashion, making very much of vs : we were by our guides brought into the midst of the towne. They haue in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stones cast, whither we were brought, and there with signes were commanded to stay : then suddenly all the women and maidens of the towne gathered themselves together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie soeuer they could touch, weeping for very ioy that they saw vs, shewing vs the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring vs with their signes, that it would please vs to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselves backe, then they euery one sate downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue shewen and rehearsed some Comedie or other shew : then presently came the women againe, euery one bringing a foure square Matte in manner of Carpets, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused vs to sit vpon them. That done, the the Lord and King of the countrey was brought vpon 9 or 10 mens shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) sitting vpon a great Stagges skinne, and they laide him downe vpon the foresaid mats neere to the Captaine, euery one beckniug vnto vs that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old : he was no whit better apparelled then any of the rest, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing

made of the skinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in stead of his Crowne. He was full of the palsie, and his members shronke together. After he had with certaine signes saluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gaue it vnto our Captaine: that done they brought before him diuers diseased men, some blinde, some crible, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed vnto them that God was descended and come downe from heauen to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and deuotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint Iohn, that is to say, In the beginning was the word; touching euery one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receiue Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Seruice-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word that all the standers by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept silence, and were maruellously attentiuē, looking vp to heauen, and imitating vs in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on an other, and to the chiefest of them he gaue hatchets, to the other kniues, and to the women beads and such other small trifles. Then where y<sup>e</sup> children were, he cast rings, counters, and brooches made of Tin, whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other muscalle instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leaue and went to our boate: the women seeing that, put themselves before to stay vs, and brought vs out of their meates that they had made readie for vs, as fish, pottage beanes, and such other things, thinking to make vs eate, and dine in that place: but because the meates had no sauour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signes gaue them to vnderstand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diuerse of the men and women followed vs, and brought

vs to the toppe of the foresaid mountaine, which we named Mount Roiall, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on the toppe of it, we might discerne and plainly see thirtie leagues about. On the Northside of it there are many hilles to be seene running West and East, and as many more on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be seene, being leuell, smooth, and very plaine, fit to be husbanded and tilled : and in the

A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga and another to the South.

middest of those fieldes we saw the riuier further vp a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath beene seene, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discerne, going South-west along three faire and round mountaines that wee sawe, as we iudged about fiftene leagues, from vs. Those which brought

vs thither tolde and shewed vs, that in the sayd riuier there were three such falles of water more, as that was where we had left our boates : but because we could not vnderstand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were from one another. More-

The 3 faults or falles of water in 44 degrees of latitude.

ouer they shewed vs with signes, that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three monethes more alongst that Riuier, and that along the hilles that are on the North side there is a great riuier, which (euen as the other)

commeth from the West, we thought it to be the riuier that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay : and without any signe or question moooued or asked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of siluer, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yellow copper gilt, and shewed vs that such stuffe came from the said Riuier, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to say, as euill people, who goe all armed euen to their finger ends. Also they shewed vs the manner and making of their armour : they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought together. They gaue vs also to vnderstande that those Agouionda doe continually waire one against another, but because we did not vnderstand them well, we could not pereeiue how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine shewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with signes asked them if any came from

The riuier of Saguenay commeth from the West, where there is gold and siluer.

thence, they shaking their heads answered no : but they shewed vs that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and seene these things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of those people : some of them when as they sawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them vp on their shoulders, and carry them as on horsebacke. So soone as we came to our boates we hoysed saile to goe toward our Pinnesse, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieved and displeased them very much, for they followed vs along the riuier as farre as they could : we went so fast that on Munday being the fourth of October wee came where our Pinnesse was. The Tuesday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and boates departed from thence toward the Province of Canada, to the port of the Holy Crosse, where we had left our ships. The seuenth day we came against a riuier that commeth from the North, and entred into that riuier, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly trees : we named that riuier The riuier of Fouetz : But because one of those Ilandes stretcheth it selfe a great way into the riuier, our Captaine at the point of it caused a goodly great Crosse to be set vp, and cpmmanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe vp the saide riuier, and consider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went vp as farre as we could : but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shallow, we returned and sayled down the riuier.

How we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, and in what state we found our ships : and how the Lord of the Countrey came to visite our Captaine, and our Captaine him : and of certaine particular customes of the people.

#### Chap. 9.

Vpon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, where our ships were, and found that the Masters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ships, altogither closed with great peeces of timber set vpright and verywell fastened together : then had they beset the said trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other



necessarie things to shield and defend themselves from the power of all the country. So soone as the Lord of the country heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to visite vs, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia, and many others, sayning to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deserved it. Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a stones cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meete vs, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, and the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and receiued one another, our Captaine gaue them kniues and such other sleight things: then he caused all the women and children to passe along before him, giuing each one a ring of Tin, for which they gaue him hearty thanks: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well provided, and stored with such victuals as the country yeeldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed vs the skins of fiew mens heads spread vpon boards as we do vse parchment: Donnacona told vs that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreouer they told vs, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea euen into the said riuer, in an Iland that lyeth ouer against Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and children, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would haue come out of it to saue themselves, they were all slaine, only fiew excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing with signes, that one day they would be reuenged: that done, we came to our ships againe.

Toudamani  
dwelling  
Southward  
of Canada.

The maner how the people of that Countrey liue: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and customes.

Chap. 10.

THIS people beleeeue no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreouer they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they beleeeue that when they die they go into the stars, and thence by litle and little descend downe into the Horizon, euen as the stars doe, and that then they goe into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire and precious trees, floures, and fruits. After that they had giuen vs these things to vnderstand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceiue them, for he is but a Diuell and an euill spirit: affirming vnto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heauen, and who giueth vs all necessities, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleeeue in him: moreouer, that it is necessarie for vs to be baptised, otherwise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily beleeeue, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and they desire to be baptised. They prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came vnto vs, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not thoroughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe and religion, we excused our selues, desiring Taignoagny, and Domagaia, to tell the rest of their countrey men, that he would come againe another time, and bring Priests and chrisome with vs, for without them they could not be baptised: which they did easily beleeeue, for Domagaia and Taignoagny had seene many children baptised in Britain whiles they were there. Which promise when they heard they seemed to be very glad. They liue in common together: and of such commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well stored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themselues with the skinnes of certaine wiide beasts, but very miserably. In winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beasts skins, and in Sommer they goe

barefooted. They keepe and obserue the rites of matrimonie  
 sauing that euery one weddeth 2 or 3 wiues, which (their husbands  
 being dead) do neuer marrie againe, but for the death of their  
 husbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life,  
 besmearing al their faces with cole dust and grease mingled  
 together as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are  
 knowen to be widdowes. They haue a filthy and detestable vse  
 in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all  
 (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as  
 harlots free for euery man that will haue to doe with them, vntill  
 such time as they find a match. This I say, because I haue  
 seene by experience many housen full of those Damosels, euen  
 as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade.  
 Moreouer, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses  
 is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally together,  
 shewing whatsoever God hath sent them. They are no men of  
 great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of  
 wood, as bigge as halfe a sword, on which ground groweth their  
 corne, which they call Offici: it is as bigge as our small peason:  
 there is great quantitie of it growing in Bresill. They haue also  
 great store of Muske-millions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers,  
 Peason and Beanes of euery colour, yet differing from ours.  
 There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer  
 they make great prouision for all the yeere, making great account  
 of it, and onely men vse of it, and first they cause it  
 to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their  
 neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a  
 little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe:  
 then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it  
 in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole  
 of fire vpon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill  
 their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth  
 and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They  
 say that this doth keepe them warme and and in health: they  
 neuer goe without some of it about them. We ourselues haue  
 tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our monthes, it  
 seemed almost as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey  
 doe labour much more then the men, as well in fishing (whereto  
 they are greatly giuen) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds,  
 and other things: as well the men as women and children, are  
 very much more able to resist cold then sauage beastes, for wee

Tobacco  
 described.

with our owne eyes haue seene some of them, when it was coldest (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ships starke naked going vpon snow and yce, which thing seemeth incredible to them that haue not seene it. When as the snow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great store of wilde beasts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares and Foxes, with diuers other sorts whose flesh they eate raw, hauing first dried it in y<sup>e</sup> sunne or smoke, and so they doe their fish. As farre foorth as we could perceiue and vnderstand by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie and ciuility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies sake set thereunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.

Of the greatnesse and depth of the said riuier, and of the sorts of beasts, birdes, fishes, and other things that we haue seene, with the situation of the place.

#### Chap. 11.

THE said riuier beginneth beyond the Iland of the Assumption, ouer against the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the seuen Ilands. The distance ouer from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the midst it is aboue 200 fadome deepe. The surest way to sayle vpon it is on the South side. And toward the North, that is to say, from the said 7 Ilands, from side to side, there is seuen leagues distance, where are also two great riuers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make diuers very dangerous shelues in the Sea. At the entrance of those two riuers we saw many and great store of Whales and Sea horses. Ouerthwart the said Islands there is another little riuier that runneth along those marrish grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherein there is great store of water foules.

From the entrance of that riuier to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues distance: the originall beginning of it is in the riuier that commeth from Saguenay, which riseth and springeth among high and steepe hils: it entreteth into that riuier before it commeth to the Prouince of Canada on the North side. That riuier is very deepe, high, and streight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessell to goe vpon it. After that riuier followeth the Prouince of Canada,

It is now  
found to be  
but 200  
leagues.

wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are also in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the said riuier, many other Ilands, some great, and some small, among which there is one that containeth aboue ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and also many Vines. You may goe into it from both sides, but yet the surest passage is on the South side. On the shore or banke of that riuier Westward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, conuenient and fit for to harborough ships. Hard by there is in that riuier one place very narrow, deepe, and swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, ouer against the which there is a goodly high piece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled and wrought, and as good as possibly can be seene. That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our first voyage, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, that is to say, Ayraste, Sarnatan, Tailla, which standeth vpon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, vnder which towne toward the North the riuier and port of the holy crosse is, where we staid from the 15 of September, vntil the 16 of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as we haue said before. That place being past, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, standing vpon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which standeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the said countrey on both sides of the riuier as farre as Hochelay and beyond, is as faire and plaine as euer was seene. There are certain mountaines farre distaines diuers riuers descend, which fall into the said riuier. All that countrey is full of sundry sorts of wood and many Vines, vnless it be about the places that are inhabited, where they haue pulled vp the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houses and lodgings. There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other such sorts of beasts, as Connies, Hares, Martens, Foxes, Otters, Beares, Weasels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great and diuers other sortes of wilde beasts. They cloth themselues with the skinnies of those beasts, because they haue nothing else to make them apparell withall. There are also many sorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wild Geese white and grey, Duckes, Thrushes, Black-birdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Red-breasts,

Riuers falling  
from  
mountaines.

Beasts.

Birds.

Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes, euen as in France. Also, as we haue said before, the said riuer is the plentifullest of fish that euen hath of any man bene seene or

**Fishes.** heard of, because that from the mouth to the end of it, according to their seasons, you shall finde all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. There are also many Whales, Porposes, Seahorses, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fish that we had neuer seene or heard of before. They are as great as Porposes, as white as any snow, their bodie and head fashioned as a grayhound, they are wont alwaies to abide between the fresh and salt water, which beginneth betweene the riuer of Saguenay and Canada.

Of certaine aduertisements and notes giuen vnto vs by those countrey men, after our returne from Hochelaga.

#### Chap. 12.

AFTER our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, traffickt, and with great familiaritie and loue were conuersant with those that dwelt nearest vnto our ships, except that sometimes we had strife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full sore against the will of the others. Wee vnderstood of Donnacona and of others, that the said riuer is called the riuer of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being somewhat more then a league farther Westnorth-

**The right way to Saguenay.** west, and that 8 or 9 dayes iourneys beyond, it will beare but small boats. But the right and ready way to Saguenay is vp that way to Hochelaga, and then

into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foresaid riuer, and that there is yet one moneths sayling thither. Moreouer, they told vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many

**Store of gold and red copper.** inhabited townes, and that they haue great store of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the said first riuer to Hochelaga and Saguenay,

is an Iland enuironed round about with that and other riuers, and that beyond Saguenay the said riuer entereth into two

**Two or three great lakes.** or 3 great lakes, and that there is a Sea of fresh water found, and as they haue heard say of those of **Maredulcum aquarum.**

Sanguenay, there was neuer man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told vs, they themselues were

neuer there. Moreouer they told vs, that where we had left our Pinnesse when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a riuier that goeth Southwest, from whence there is a whole moneths sayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor snow seene, where the inhabitants doe continually warre one against another, where there is great store of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other sorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skinnes euen as they: we asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceiue and vnderstand by their signes and tokens.

Of a strange and cruell disease that came to the people of Stadacona, wherewith because we did haunt their company, we were so infected, that there died 25 of our company.

### Chap. 13.

IN the moneth of December, wee vnderstood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort, that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead about 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ships, or vs. And albeit we had driuen them from vs, the said vnknown sicknes began to spread itselfe, amongst vs after the strangest sort that euer was eyther heard of or seene, insomuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feete, then did their legges swel, their sinnowes shrinke as blacke as any cole. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple coulour: then did it ascend vp to their ankels, knees, thighes, shoulders, and necke: their mouth became stincking, their gummes so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, even to the rootes of the teeth, which did also almost all fall out. With such infection did this this sicknesse spread itselfe in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not help the other, a most horrible and pitifull case, considering the place we were in, forso-much as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and saw but few of vs. There were already eight dead, and more then fifty sicke, and as we thought, past all hope of

recouery. Our Captaine seeing this our misery, and that the sicknesse was gone so farre, ordained aud commanded, that euery one should deuoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set vpon a tree, about a flight shot from the fort amidst the yce and snow, giuing all men to vnderstand, that on the Sunday following, seruice should be said there, and that whosoever could goe, sicke or whole, should goe thither in Procession, singing the seuen Psalmes of Dauid, with other Letanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to haue compassion vpon vs. Seruice being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would please God to giue him leaue to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and because the sicknesse was to vs vnknown, our Captaine caused him to be ripped to see if by any meanes possible we might know what it was, and so seeke meanes to saue and preserue the rest of the company: he was found to have his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liuer was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogether shrunke about the heart, so that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood issued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was somewhat perished, rough as it had bene rubbed against a stone. Moreouer, because one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was opened, but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In such sort did the sicknesse continue and increase, that there were not aboue three sound men in the ships, and none was able to goe vnder hatches to draw drinke for himselfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead vnder the snow, because we were not able to digge any graues for them the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weake. Besides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceiue our weaknesse and miserie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleased God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, some sicke and some whole, whom when he saw out of the Fort, he would throw stones at them and chide them, faigning that so soone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with signes shewe the people of the countrey that hee caused all his men to worke and labour in the ships, some in



calking them, some in beating of chalke, some in one thing, and some in another, and that he would not haue them come forth till their worke was done. And to make his tale seeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole and sound to make a great noyse with knocking stickes, stones, hammers, and other things together, at which time we were so oppressed and grieved with that sicknesse, that we had lost all hope euer to see France againe, if God of his infinite goodnesse and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked vpon vs, and reuealed a singular and excellent remedie against all diseases vnto vs, the best that euer was found vpon earth, as hereafter shall follow.

How long we stayed in the Port of the holy Crosse amidst the snow and yce, and how many died of the said disease, from the beginning of it to the midst of March.

#### Chap. 14.

FROM the midst of Nouember vntill the midst of March, we were kept in amidst the yce aboute two fadomes thicke, and snow aboute foure foot high and more, higher then the sides of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, that all our drinckes were frozen in the Vessels, and the yce through all the ships was aboute a hand-breadth thicke, as well aboute hatches as beneath, and so much of the riuer as was fresh, euen to Hoche-laga, was frozen, in which space there died fife and twentie of our best and chieftest men, and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they should neuer recouer againe, only three, or foure excepted. Then it pleased God to cast his pitiful eye vpon vs, and sent us the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recouerie, in such maner as in the next Chapter shall be shewed.

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recouered our health: and the maner how to vse it.

#### Chap. 15.

OVr Capitaine considering our estate (and how that sicknesse was encreased and hot amongst vs) one day went forth of the

For, and walking vpon the yce, hee saw a troupe of those Countrey men comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelue dayes afore, had bene very sicke with that disease, and had his knees swolne as bigge as a childe of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunk together, his teeth spoyled, his gummes rotten, and stinking. Our Captaine seeing him whole and sound, was thereat maruellous glad, hoping to vnderstand and know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the iuice and sappe of the leaues of a certain Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: For it is a singular remedy against that disease. Then our Captaine asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, desiring him to shew him, for to heale a seruant of his, who whilst he was in Canada with Donnacona, was stricken with that disease: That he did because he would not shew the number of his sicke men. Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought ten or twelue branches of it, and therewithall shewed the way how to vse it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaues of the sayd tree, and boile them together, then to drinke of the sayd decoction euery other day, and to put the dregs of it vpon his legs that is sicke: moreouer, they told vs, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other disease: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree. Our Captaine presently caused some of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durst tast of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to tast and proue it: the other seeing that did the like, and presently recouered their health, and were deliuered of that sickenes, and what other disease soeuer, in such sorte, that there were some had bene diseased and troubled with the French Pockes foure or fife yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed.

A perfect  
remedy  
against the  
French Pocks.

After this medicine was found and proued to be true, there was such strife about it, who should be first to take it, that they were ready to kill one another, so that a tree as big as any Oake in France was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in fife or sixe daies, and it wrought so wel, that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not haue done so

much in one yere, as that tree did in sixe dayes, for it did so preuail, that as many as vsed of it, by the grace of God recovered their health.

How the Lord Donnacona accompanied with Taignoagny and diuers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two moneths, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to see before.

#### Chap. 16.

WHile that disease lasted in our ships, the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Aiounesta, and Asquenoudo, because the yce and snow was not so broken along the riuier that they could sayle: it was told vs of Domagaia and others, that they would stay out but a fortnight, and we beleueed it, but they stayed aboue two moneths, which made vs mistrust that they had bene gone to raise the countrey to come against vs, and do vs some displeasure, we seeing our selues so weake and faint. Albeit we had vsed such diligence and policie in our Fort, that if all the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could haue done nothing but looke vpon vs: and whilest they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ships, and brought vs fresh meat, as Stags, Deere, fishes, with diuers other things, but held them at such an excessiue price, that rather then they would sell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, because that yere the Winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and neede of them.

A loug  
winter.

How Donnacona came to Stadacona againe with a great number of people, and because he would not cme to visit our Captaine, fained himselfe to be sore sicke, which he did only to haue the Captaine come see him.

#### Chap. 17.

ON the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the shore side, accompanied with diuers lusty and strong men, such

as we were not wont to see, and tolde vs that their lord Donnacona would the next day come and see vs, and bring great store of Deeres flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause wee knew not, but (as the proverb sayth) hee that takes heede and shields himselfe from all men, may hap to scape from some: for we had need to looke about vs, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakned, both by reason of our sicknesse and also of the number that were dead, so that we were constrained to leaue one of our ships in the Port of the Holy Crosse. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it vs, and durst not passe the riuier that was betwixt Stadacona and vs, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our Captaine seeing this sent one of his seruants to them, accompanied with Iohn Poulet being best beloued of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The sayd Poulet and the other fained themselues onely to be come to visit Donnacona, and bring him certaine presents, because they had beene together a good while in the sayd Donnaconas Towne. So soone as he heard of their comming, he got himselfe to bed, faining to bee very sicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his house to see him, and wheresoeuer they went, they saw so many people, that in a maner one could not stirre for another, and such men as they were neuer wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ships, and tolde them that if it would please our captaine to shew him so much fauour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whose name was Agonna, of whom hee had receiued some displeasure, and carie him with him into France, he should therefore for euer be bound vnto him, and would doe for him whatsoever hee would command him, and bade the seruant come againe the next day, and bring an answer. Our Captaine being aduertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a prettie prancke, that is to say, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some more of the chieftest of them prisoners, in so much as before hee had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew vnto our King what he had seene in those Western

parts, and maruels of the world, for that Donnacona had told vs, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselues with woollen cloth euen as we doe in France. Moreouer he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people. The sayd Lord was an olde man, and euen from his childehood had neuer left off nor ceased from trauailing into strange Countreys, as well by water and riuers, as by lande. The sayd Poulet and the other hauing tolde our Captaine their Embassage, and shewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he sent his seruant againe to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shewe what hee should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had so offended him, which hee did not, but stayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to our shippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from vs, as if we would haue slaine them, so that then wee plainly perceiued their knauery.

But because they vnderstood, that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottome of a ship which we would leaue, to haue the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did passe from one side of the riuer to the other with small Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come ouer: Taignoagny and Domagaia stood talking together about an houre before they would come ouer, at last they came to speake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cause the foresayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refused to doe it, saying that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leaue him in an Island. Our Captaine spake this, onely to assure them, that they should bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other side: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee should neuer returne into France againe, and

therefore promised to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Crosse, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

How that vpon Holyrood day our Captaine caused a Crosse to be set vp in our Forte : and how the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and others of their company came : and of the taking of the sayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

THE third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the solemnitie of the day, caused a goodly fayre crosse of 35 foote in height to bee set vp, vnder the crosset of which hee caused a shield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and ouer them was written in antique letters, Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat. And vpon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women and children, who told vs that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, and being come neere our ships, our Captaine went to salute Donnacona, who also shewed him a merie countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were still bent toward the wood. Shortiy after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he should not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, and kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ships to eate and drinke as hee was wont to do, and also Taignoagny, who promised, that after a while he would come, and so they did, and entred into our ships : but first it was told our Captain by Domagaia that Taignoagny had spoken ill of him, and that he had bid Donnacona hee should not come aboard our ships. Our Captaine perceiuing that, came out of the Forte, and saw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men stayed in great number, wherefore he Taignoagny, straight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, and two more of aia taken. the chiefest whom he pointed vnto : then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after, the said lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by and by

Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call vnto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their Lord taken, began to run away, euen as sheepe before the wolfe, some crossing ouer the riuier, some through the woods, each one seeking for his owne aduantage. That done, we retired our selues, and laid vp the prisoners vnder good guard and safety.

How the said Canadians the night following came before our ships to seeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolues: of the talke and conclusion they agreed vpon the next day: and of the gifts which they gaue our Captaine.

#### Chap. 19.

THE night following they came before our ships, (the riuier being betwixt vs) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like woolues, still calling Agouhanna, thinking to speake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made signes vnto vs, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluster, as euer we saw, who went to hide themselues in the Forest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to speake vnto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought vp on high to speake vnto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had spoken, and shewed vnto the King of France what hee had seene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelue moneths, he should returne againe, and that the King of France would giue him great rewards, Donnacona was very glad, and speaking to the others told it them, who in token of ioy, gaue out three great cryes, and then Donnacona and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be described. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee should cause them to come to the other side of the riuier, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, and that he should assure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chieftest of them to the

ships, and there anew began to talke together, giuing great praise to our captaine, and gaue him a present of foure and twenty chaines of Esurgny, for that is the greatest and precioucest riches

Four and they haue in this world, for they esteeme more of twenty chains that, then of any gold or siluer. After they had long of Esurgny.

talked together, and that their Lord sawe that there was no remedy to auoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serue him by the way. Our Captaine gaue Donnacona, as a great present, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other small trifles, as Kniues, and Beades, whereof hee seemed to be very glad, who sent them to his wiues and children. Likewise, he gaue to them that came to speake with Donnacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the same people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and how foure women came to the shore to bring him victuals.

#### Chap. 20.

Vpon the fift of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the sayd people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and sent a boate, which in their tongue they call Casnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men should be retained.

These women brought great store of victuals, as great Millet, which is their corne that they liue withall, flesh, fish, and other things, after their fashion.

These women being come to our shippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell these women that hee should come againe after ten or twelue moneths, and bring Connacona to Canada with him: this hee sayd only to appease them, which our Captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as signes, seemed to be very glad, giuing our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would giue him many things: in signe whereof, each one gaue our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, and then passed to the other side of the riuer againe, where stood all the people of Stadacona, who taking  
sa leaue of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following,



being the sixt of the moneth, we departed out of the sayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to the harborough a little beneath the Island of Orleans, about twelue leagues from the Port of the Holy Crosse, and vpon Sondag we came to the Island of Filberds, where we stayed vntill the sixteenth of that moneth, till the fiercenesse of the waters were

The Isle of  
Orleans.  
Isle de  
Coudres.

past, which at that time ranne too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come downe along the riuier, and therefore we stayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Dannaconas subiects came from the riuier of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia aduertised, that their Lord was taken to bee carried into France they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leaue to come to our ships, to speake to Dannacona, who told them that after twelue moneths he should come againe, and that he was very well vsed by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gaue their Lord three bundles of Beauers, and Sea Woolues

skinnnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gaue also to our Captaine a chaine of Esurny, for which our Captaine gaue them ten or twelue Hatchets,

A knife of  
red coper  
brought from  
Saguenay.

and they gaue him hearty thanks, and were very well contented. The next day, being the sixteenth of May, we hoysed sayle, and came from the said Island of Filberds, to another about fiteene leagues from it, which is about fiue leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hope the next day we might passe and auoide the dangers of the riuier of Saguenay, which are great. That euening we went a land and found great store of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it the Island of Hares:

The Isle of  
Hares.

in the night there arose a contrary winde, with such stormes and tempest, that wee were constrained to returne to the Island of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, because there was none other passage among the sayde Islandes, and there we stayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee sayled againe, and that so prosperously, that we passed to Honguedo, which passage vntill that time had not bene discouered: wee caused our ships to course athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and because the winde was

good and conuenient, we sayled all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Island, which we were not minded to doe, to the end we might shorten our way. These two lands lie Northwest, and Southeast, and are about fiftie leagues: one from another. The said Island is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Vpon Thursday being the twenty sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted ouer to a land and shallow of lowe sandes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from Brions Island, aboue which are large Champaignes, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brions Island againe, where we stayed till the beginning of Iune, and toward the Southeast of this Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming vnto vs an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knownen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth diuide it selfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty seuen degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue these lands we saw another cape toward the south, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Sonday following, being the fourth of Iune, and Whitsunday, wee had notice of the coast lying Eastsoutheast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and because the wind was against vs, we went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tewesday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast vntill we came to Saint Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and shelues, which lye all in the Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty leagues into the sea. Whilest we were in the sayd Saint Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine, wee stayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleuenth of the moneth, vntil the sixteenth that we departed thence and came to Cape Rase, and

entred into a Port called Rognoso, where we took in fresh water, and wood to passe the sea : there wee left one of our boates. Then vpon Monday, being the nineteenth of Iune, we went from that Port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sorte, that vpon the sixt of Iuly 1536 we came to the Porte of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Nnuigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant vs his grace and fauour, and in the end bring vs to the place of euerlasting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of Hochelaga and Canada, of vs called New France: But first the names of their numbers.

|          |   |          |    |
|----------|---|----------|----|
| Secada   | 1 | Indahir  | 6  |
| Tigneni  | 2 | Aiaga    | 7  |
| Hasche   | 3 | Addigue  | 8  |
| Hannaion | 4 | Madellon | 9  |
| Ouiscon  | 5 | Assem    | 10 |

Here follow the names the chieftest partes of men, and other words necessary to be knowen.

|              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
| the Head     | aggonzi          |
| the Browe    | hegueniascon     |
| the Eyes     | higata           |
| the Eares    | abontascon       |
| the Mouth    | esahe            |
| the Teeth    | esgongay         |
| the Tongue   | osnache          |
| the Throat   | agonhon          |
| the Beard    | hebelim          |
| the Face     | hegouascon       |
| the Haires   | aganiscon        |
| the Armes    | aiayascon        |
| the Flanckes | aissonne         |
| the Stomacke | aggruascon       |
| the Bellie   | eschehenda       |
| the Thighes  | hetnegradascon   |
| the Knees    | agochinegodascon |
| the Legges   | agouguenehondo   |
| the Feete    | onchidascon      |

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|                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| the Hands            | aignoascon          |
| the Fingers          | agenoga             |
| the Nailes           | agedascon           |
| a Mans member        | ainoascon           |
| a Womans member      | castaigne           |
| an Eele              | esgueny             |
| a Snaile             | vndeguezi           |
| a Tortois            | heuleuxima          |
| Woods                | conda               |
| leaues of Trees      | hoga                |
| God                  | cudragny            |
| giue me some drink   | quazahoaquea        |
| giue me to breakfast | quase hoa quascaboa |
| giue me my supper    | quaza hoa quatfriam |
| let vs goe to bed    | casigno agnydahoa   |
| a Man                | aguehum             |
| a woman              | agruaste            |
| a Boy                | addegesta           |
| a Wench              | agniaquesta         |
| a Child              | exiasta             |
| a Gowne              | cabata              |
| a Doublet            | caioza              |
| Hosen                | hemondoha           |
| Shooes               | atha                |
| a Shirt              | amgoua              |
| a Cappe              | castrua             |
| Corne                | osizi               |
| Bread                | carraconny          |
| Water                | ame                 |
| Flesh                | quahouascon         |
| Reisins              | queion              |
| Damsons              | honnesta            |
| Figges               | absconda            |
| Grapes               | ozoba               |
| Nuttes               | quahoya             |
| a Hen                | sahomgahoa          |
| a Lamprey            | zisto               |
| a Salmon             | ondacon             |
| a Whale              | ainne honne         |
| a Goose              | sadeguenda          |
| a Streete            | adde                |

|                                    |                  |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Cucumber seede                     | casconda         |
| to Morrowe                         | achide           |
| the Heauen                         | quenhia          |
| the Earth                          | danga            |
| the Sunne                          | ysmay            |
| the Moone                          | assomaha         |
| the Starres                        | stagnehoham      |
| the Winde                          | coho             |
| good morrow                        | aignag           |
| let vs go to play                  | casigno caudy    |
| come and speak with me             | assigniquaddadia |
| looke vpon me                      | quagathoma       |
| hold your peace                    | aista            |
| let vs go with y <sup>e</sup> boat | casigno casnouy  |
| giue me a knife                    | buazahca agohed  |
| a Hatchet                          | adogne           |
| a Bow                              | ahenca           |
| a Dart                             | quaetan          |
| let vs goe a hunting               | Casigno donnasc  |
| a Stagge                           | aionnesta        |
| a Sheepe                           | asquenondo       |
| a Hare                             | Sourhanda        |
| a Dogge                            | agaya            |
| a Towne                            | canada           |
| the Sea                            | agogasy          |
| the waues of the sea               | coda             |
| an Island                          | cohen            |
| an Hill                            | agacha           |
| the yce                            | honesca          |
| Snow                               | camsa            |
| Colde                              | athau            |
| Hotte                              | odazani          |
| Fier                               | azista           |
| Smoke                              | quea             |
| a House                            | canoca           |
| Beanes                             | sahe             |
| Cinnamom                           | adhotathny       |
| my Father                          | addathy          |
| my Mother                          | adanahoe         |
| my Brother                         | addagrim         |
| my Sister                          | adhoasseuc       |

They of Canada say, that it is a moneths sayling to goe a lande where Cinnamom and Cloues are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers discouery and Nauigation to the Newfoundland, by him named New France.

The third voyage of discouery made by Captaine Iaques Cartier, 1540. vnto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

KING Francis the first hauing heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discouery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and seene in the Westernne partes discouered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and hauing also seene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Maiestie was aduertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought ouer by him (which were tenne in number) <sup>Ten Sauages</sup> brought into sauing one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he <sup>France.</sup> resolved to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with Iohn Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberual,\* whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Gouvernour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the sayd Cartier Captaine Generall and leader of the shippes, that they might discouer more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were possible) vnto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention vnto the King, that there were great riches, and very good good soile in Saguenay, which is beyond countreys. And the King caused a certaine summe of money to be deliuered to furnish out the sayd voyage with fīue shippes: which thing was performed by the sayd Monsieur Roberual and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd fīue ships at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two former voyages had bene prepared and

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\* Near Boulogne, between that town and Calais.

set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberual sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said five ships to be built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberual came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acrossse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberual the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come downe, which he had provided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come: And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the five shippes which he had furnished, and should goe before.

Considering also that the said Cartier had received letters from the king, whereby hee did expressly charge him to depart and set sayle immediatly vpon the sight and receipt thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberual had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the sayd voyage, hee gaue vnto Captain Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to gouerne all things as if he had bene there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd five ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540.

And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd five ships full three moneths before wee could arriue at the Port and Hauen of Canada, without euer hauing in all that time 30 houres of good wind to serue vs to keepe our right course: so that our five shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all saue that two kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Viscount of Beaupre, vntill at length at the end of one moneth wee met all together at the Hauen

The kings  
letters to  
Cartier.

The great  
mischiefe of  
leesing the  
season.

Carpont  
Hauen.

of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great neede of water, because of the cattell, aswell Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberual, and

Transporting  
of diuers  
sorts of  
cattell for  
breed.

taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arriued not before the Hauen of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) vntill the 23. day of August. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of ioy for our arriuall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and gouernment of the

The new  
king of  
Canada.

Country of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France. And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were married, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Gouernour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with Esnoguy (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was vpon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of Esnoguy, and put them vpon the Captaines armes, colling him

Great dis-  
simulation  
of ioy: which  
was all dissimulation,  
as afterward it  
a Saunge.

about the necke, and shewing vnto him great signes of ioy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his said crowne of leather and put it againe vpon his head, and gaue him and his wiues certaine smal presents, signifying vnto him that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow vpon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine.



And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine went with two of his boates vp the riuer, beyond Canada and the Port of Sainte Croix, to view a Hauen and a small riuer, which is about 4. leagues higher : which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, then the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd riuer, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ships in more safetie, which he meant to keepe and stay in the Countrey, which were three : which hee did the day following. and the rest remayned in the roade in the midst of the riuer (In which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August vntill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ships he sent backe Mace Iolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steuen Noel his Nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters vnto the king, and to aduertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur Roberual was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driven backe againe into France.

A good roade  
4. leagues  
aboue  
Sainte  
Croix.

#### The description of the aforesayd Riuer and Hauen.

THE sayd Riuer is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea : and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both sides of the said Riuer there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and diuers sorts, which are about tenne fathoms higher then the rest, and there is one kind of tree about three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees in the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreouer there are great store of Okes the most excellent that euer I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast that they cracked againe: besides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard vnto this wood

Trees about  
3. fathoms  
about.

Hanneda the  
most excel-  
lent tree of  
the world.

Abundance on the South side the ground is all couered with of Vines full Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not so kind as those of France because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. Moreouer there are many white Thornes,

Fruit like which beare leaues as bigge as oken leaues, and fruit like vnto Medlers. To bee short, it is as good a Country to plow and mannure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Country, as

Seed sprong out of the ground within 8 dayes. Cabages, Naueaus,\* Lettises and others, which grew and sprung vp out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the riuer is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like vnto a snake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and

steepe cliffe, where we made a way in manner of a payre of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe by the great as by this small riuer. Moreouer a man may behold a great

A great plaine of very good arable ground. extension of ground apt for tillage, strait and hand-some, and somewhat enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and

very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here we set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Naueaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And vpon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort:

Diamants of Canada. adioyning whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great Riuer is all along a goodly Myne of the best yron in the world, and it reacheth euen hard vnto our Fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters side we found certaine leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Westward of the said Riuer there are, as hath bene sayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly grasse as euer I sawe in any Medowe in

\* Turnips. (French, *Navets*).

France: and betweene the said Medow and the Wood are great store of Vines: and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, <sup>Excellent</sup> and strong <sup>hempe.</sup> which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Medow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and siluer: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Myne. And in some places we haue found stones like Diamants, the most faire, polished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see, when the Sunne shineth vpon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Britaine, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to go vp the great Riuer to discover the passage of the three Saults or falles of the Riuer.

THE said Captaine hauing dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preseruacion of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Masters, and Pilots chosen for counsayle, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and vnderstand the fashion of the Saults of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal the seuenth day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre stayed behind for the garding and gouernement of all things in the Fort. And as they went vp the riuer, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had giuen vnto the said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons

The rich  
countrie of  
Saguenay  
situated  
beyond the  
Saults which  
are in 44-  
deg.

They depart  
from  
Charlesburg  
Royal the 7.  
of Septem.

which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would haue wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him vnderstand that the Captaine thought himselfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with

him to learne their language, and bestowed vpon him  
They delight in red cloth. a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And

withall hee gaue him two Basons of Laton, and certaine hached and kniues: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arriued the eleuenth day of

The 11 of September.

the moneth at the first Sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arriued there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre vp as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe vp against the course or streame of the sayde Sault. And after wee had passed some part of the way from our other

boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and  
Bad ground and a great current. so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine

resolved to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the Sault. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde Saultes, by which wee tooke our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made vs great cheere, and entertained vs very friendly. And after that he had signified vnto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with vs to shewe vs the way, and they brought vs so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell ouer against the second Sault, which came and

brought vs of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and  
Another village of good people which dwell ouer against the second Sault. offered vs of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Saults we had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that

wee were at the second Sault, and that there was but one more to passe, that the Riuer was not nauigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had trauailed, shewing vs the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd vpon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterward layde other small branches betweene both, representing the Saults. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but size leagues by land to passe the sayd Saults.

[Here after followeth the figure of the three Saults.]

AFTER that we had bene aduertised by the sayde people, of the things abouementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne vnto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people to the number of 400 persons or thereabout, which seemed to giue vs very good entertainment and to reioyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gaue eche of them certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and vnto the chiefe men euery one his litle hatchet and hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for vs, then would they haue done their best to haue killed vs, as we vnderstood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came vp the riuer, thinking to haue found him: But hee coulde find no body saue one of his sonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee was gone to Maisouna, as our boyes also told vs, saying that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conlude with Angona what they should doe against vs. And when we were arriued at our Fort, wee vnderstoode by our people, that the Sauages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring vs fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of vs. Wherefore our Captaine, hauing bene aduertised by some

400 persons  
about their  
boates.

Like those  
of new  
Albion.

The sauages  
are great  
dissemblers.

The Sauages  
conspire  
together  
against the  
French.

A very great number of Sauvages assembled together. of our men which had bene at Stadacona to visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order : &c.

The rest is wanting.

A letter written to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris, by Iaqués Noel of S. Malo, the nephew of Iaqués Cartier, touching the foresaid discouery.

MAster Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an Englishman : wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Iaqués Cartier : and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe The great Lake, which is aboue the Saults, according as the Sauages haue aduertised vs, which dwell at the sayd Saults. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake

The Saults is placed too much toward the North.\* The Saults are in 44. deg. and easie to passe. or falles of the Riuer stand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought : The water falleth not downe from any high

place, it is nothing else but that in the middest of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were best to build boates about the Saults : and it is easie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Saults : it is not aboue fife leagues iourney. I haue bene vpon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I haue seene the said Riuer beyond the sayd Saultes, which shewed vnto vs to be broader then it was where we passed it.

Ten dayes iourney from the Saults to this great Lake. The people of the Countrey aduertised vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Saults vnto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this present I cannot write vnto you more at large, because the messenger

\* This may refer either to Lake St. Peter or Lake Ontario ; I should think the latter.

can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to giue you your hearts desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19 day of Iune. 1587.

Your louing Friend,  
IAQVES NOEL.

COsin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send me a booke of the discouery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Vnderneath the aforesaid vnperfit relation that which followeth is written in another letter sent to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris from Iaques Noel of S. Malo, the grand nephew of Iaques Cartier.

I Can write nothing else vnto you of any thing that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine Iaques Cartier my vnkle disceased, although I haue made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: sauing of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said vnkle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur: which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I myself haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I haue bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said riuer somewhat neerest that arme which runneth toward the Northwest, these words following written in the hand of Iacques Cartier.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

And about an hundred leagues vnder the same I found written these two lines following in the saide Carde enclining toward the Southwest. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues, which they call in their language Canodeta.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I haue deliuered to my two sonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertise you thereof.

Your louing Friend,  
IAQVES NOEL.

Here followeth the course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland vp the Riuer of Canada for the space of 230. leagues, obserued by Iohn Alphonse of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberual, 1542.

Belles Isles are in 51 degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . Belles Isles and Carpont are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and they are ten leagues distant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeast and Southwest, and the distance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and an halfe, and on the Northside thereof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Isle, ouer against Carpont toward the East there is a small flat Island, and on the side toward the Northeast there is a flat rocke. And when thou comdest out of the harborough of Carpont thou must leaue this rocke on the starreboord side, and also on the larboord side there are two or three small Isles: and when thou comdest out on the Northeast side, ranging along the shore toward the West about two pikes length in the midway there is a shold which lyeth on thy starboord side: and saile thou by the North coast, and leaue two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; because there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the hauen of Butes, run along the North shore about one league or an halfe off, for the coast is without all danger; Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere vnto the North shore lie Northeast, West and Southwest, and the distance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land vntill it come ouer against the Bay des Chasteaux: and from thence forward it hath not past 5 leagues in breadth. And against Blanc Sablon it is

The Isle of  
Blanc Sablon  
or white  
sand.



8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South shore is all low land along the sea coast. The North shore is reasonable high land, Blanc Sablon is in 51 degrees  $\frac{3}{4}$ . The Isles of Blanc Sablon and the Isles de la Damoiselle, are Northeast, Westsouthwest, and take a little of the West-southwest, and they are distant 36 leagues: these Isles are in 50. deg.  $\frac{3}{4}$ . And there is a good haven: and you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeast, and within the distance of a pike and an halfe, because of a rocke which lieth on your larrebord side, and you may ancre in 10 fathome water ouer against a little nooke: and from the great headland vnto the place where thou doest ancre there is not about the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldest go out by the West side, thou must saile neere the Isle by the starrebord, and giue roome vnto the Isle on the larbord at the comming forth: and when thou art not past a cables length out thou must saile hard by the Isles on the larbord side, by reason of a suncken flatte which lieth on the starrebord, and thou shalt saile so on to the Southsouthwest, vntill thou come in sight of a rocke which shineth, which is about halfe a league in the sea distant from the Isles, and thou shalt leaue it on the larrebord: (and from the Isles of Damoiselle vnto Newfoundland the sea is not in bredth about 36. leagues, because that Newfoundland euen vnto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheast and Southsouthwest.) Between the Isles de la Damoiselle and the Isles of Blanck Sablon there be many Isles and good harbours: and on this coast there are faulcons and haukes, and certaine foules which seeme to be feasants. The Isles de la Damoiselle and Cape Tienot are Northeast and Westsouthwest and take a little of the Northeast and southwest, and they are distant 18. leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . And there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greatest bredth of the sea. And there are 6 or 7 Isles between the Isles de la Damoiselle and Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in y<sup>e</sup> sea 5 or 6 leagues distant from it a suncken Iland dangerous for ships. The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are Northeast and southsouthwest, and they are 22. leagues distant, the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49 deg. and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The said Isle lieth Northwest and Southeast, the Northwest end is in 50. degrees of

The Isle  
Ascension,  
Assumption  
or Naticotec.

latitude and the Southeast end is in 48. degrees and a halfe and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues broad: and from the Northwest end of the Isle vnto the firme land of the North side the Sea is not aboue seuen leagues broad, but vnto the firme land on the South side are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Isle of Ascention toward the Southeast are Northeast and Southwest, and are distant 30. leagues. The said Cape of Tienot and the Northwest end of the Isle of Ascension are East and West, and take a little of the Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 34. leagues. The Isle of Ascen-

The com-  
mendation of sion is a goodly Isle, and a goodly champion land  
the Isle of without any hilles, standing all vpon white rocks and  
Ascension.

Alabaster, all couered with trees vnto the Sea shore, and there are al sorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beasts, as beares, Luserns, Porkespicks.\* And from the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascension vnto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues. The Northwest end of the Isle and the Cape des Monts nostre Dame,† which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeast and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Isle of Ascension toward the Southeast are East and West and there is 15. leagues distance betweene them. The Bay of Molues or Gaspay‡ is in 48. degrees, and the coast lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeast and Southwest vnto the Bay of Heate:§ and there are 3. Isles, one great one and two smal: from the Bay of Heate vntill you passe the Monts nostre Dame al the land is high and good ground al couered with trees. Ognedoc is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and it is a good Harbour: and you must saile along the shore on the Northside by reason of the low point at the entrance therof: and when you are passed the poynt bring your selfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South shore, and here within this Hauen are two riuers, one which goeth

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\* Hedgehogs.

† Query, Mount Logan.

‡ Cape Gaspe.

§ Chaleur Bay.

toward the Northwest, and the other to the Southwest. And on this coast there is great fishing for Coddies and other fish, where there is more store than is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of river foule, as Malards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspesses, Filbrid\* trees, Apple trees, Pear trees, and it is better here in Sommer then in France. The Isle of Ascension and the 7. Isles which lie on the North shore lie Southeast and Westnorthwest, and are distant 24. leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7. Isles are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and are distant 35. leagues. The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the 7. Isles are North and South, and the cut ouer from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence vpward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Isles are in 50. degrees and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . The 7. Isles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeast and Southwest and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine small Islands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Nostre Dame, which are on the South side of the entrance of the river, are North and South: and the cut ouer from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the abredth of the Sea. The poynt of Ongear and the river of Caen lie East and West, and they are distant 12. leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherin growe all sorts of trees that are in France and some fruits. The poynt of Ongear is in 49. degrees and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . And the river of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle lye Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 12. leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is in 48. degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . In this river of Caen there is great store of fish. And here the Sea is not past 8. leagues broad. The Isle of Raquelle is a very low Isle, which is neere vnto the South shore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may passe. And there is not from the Isle to the South shore aboue one league, and from the Isle vnto the North shore about foure leagues. The Isle of Raquelle

Greater store  
and better  
fish then in  
Newfound-  
land.

The mouth  
of the river  
of Canada  
twenty five  
leagues  
broad.

The river is  
here but 10  
leagues  
broad.

The river 8  
past 8. leagues  
broad.

\* Filbert.

and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeast Westsouthwest, and are distant 14. leagues, and there are betweene them two small Islandes neere the North shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48. degrees and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , and the entrance hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southwest: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and wider: and it seemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the same runneth into the Sea of Cathay,\* for it sendeth foorth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible

The riuer  
not past 4  
leagues  
ouer.

rase or tyde. And here the riuer from the North shore to the South shore is not past foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage betweene both the lands, because there lie bankes of rockes in the riuer. The Isle of Raquelle and the Isle of Hares lye Northeast and Southwest, and take  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the East and the West, and they are distant 18. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and are distant 5. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle are Northnorthwest, and Southsouthwest, and are distant three leagues. The Isle of Hares is in 48 and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a degree. From the Mountaines of Nostre Dame vnto Canada† and vnto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coast is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all couered with trees vnto the brink of the riuer. And the land on the North side is higher, and in some places there are high mountaines. And

Note. from the Isle of Hares vnto the Isle of Orleans the

riuer is not past 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Isle of Hares and the highland on the North side the sea is not past a league and a halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is aboue 100. fathoms deepe in the midst. To the East of the Isle of Hares there are 2 or 3 small Isles and rockes. And from hence to the Isle des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Isles and rockes on the South shore: and towards the North the sea is fayre and deepe. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filbeards lie northeast, West and Southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must alwayes run along the high land on the north shore; for on the other shore there is nothing but

\* Saguenay River really rises in Lake St. John.

† The word *Canada* in the native tongue meant, as we have seen above, a town, and is probably the modern Rimouski.

rocks. And you must passe by the side of the Isle of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sayle in the midst of the chanel: and in the midst runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The isle of Filbeards is a small isle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of sand. The isle of Filberds stands in 47. deg. and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . The isle of Filberds and the isle of Orleans lie northeast and southwest, and they are distant 10 leagues, and thou must passe by the high land on the north-side about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the riuer there is nothing but sholds and rocks. And when thou shalt bee ouer against a round Cape, thou must take ouer to the South shore southwest, and a quarter toward the south; and thou shalt sayle in 5. 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the riuer of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water endeth. And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the isle of Orleans, where the riuer beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sayle in the midst of the riuer, and thou shalt leaue the isle on the starreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the riuer is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South shore there is a ledge of Isles all couered with trees, and they end ouer against the point of the Isle of Orleans. And the poynt of the Isle of Orleans toward the Northeast is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Isle of Orleans is a fayre Isle, all couered with trees euen vnto the riuers side: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North shore there is another Riuer, which falleth into the mayne Riuer at the ende of the Island: and Shippes may very well passe there. From the midst of the Isle vnto Canada the Riuer runneth West; and from the place of Canada vnto France-Roy the riuer turneth West Southwest: and from the West ende of the Isle to Canada is but one league; and vnto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Isle thou shalt see a great Riuer which falleth fifteene or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyse. The Fort of France-roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt part of a degree.

The extension of all these lands, vpon iust occasion is called

W

Why the  
country is  
colder in the  
Winter then  
France.

New France. For it is as good and as temperate  
as France, and in the same latitude. And the reason  
wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, because the  
fresh Riuer is naturally more colde then the Sea ;  
and it is also broad and deepe : and in some places  
it is halfe a league and aboue in breadth. And also because  
the land is not tyllid, nor full of people, and is all  
full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because  
there is not store of fire nor cattel. And the sunne  
hath his Meridian as high as the Meridian at Rochel : and it is  
noone here when the Sunne is at South Southwest at  
Rochel. And here the north starre by the compasse  
standeth North northeast. And when at Rochel it  
is noone, it is but halfe an houre past nine at France-Roy.  
From the sayde place vnto the Ocean sea and the coast of New  
France, is not aboue 50 leagues distance. And from the entrance  
of Norumbega \* vnto Florida are 300 leagues : and from this  
place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues : and  
vnto y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Rasus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but  
Norumbega entereth into the riuer of Canada, and vnto the Sea  
of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France-Roy vntill a man  
come forth of the Grand Bay is not aboue 230 leagues. And  
the course is Northeast and West Southwest not aboue 5 degrees  
and  $\frac{1}{2}$  difference : and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a  
degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hoches  
laga are still better and better, and more fruitfull.  
Gold and  
siluer like to  
be found in  
Canada.

And this land is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I  
thinke that gold and siluer will be found here,  
according as the people of the cuntry say. These  
landes lye ouer against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they  
stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world.  
And therefore it were good to haue a small Shippe of 70 tunnes  
to discouer the coast of New France on the backe side of

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\* The name *Norumbega* had a different meaning at different periods. First, there was the fabulous city of Norumbega, situated on the Penobscot. Secondly, there was the country of Norumbega, embracing Nova Scotia and New England, and at one time reaching from Cape Breton to 30 deg. in Florida. Subsequently it receded to narrower limits and embraced only the region on both sides of the river above named. (Woods, Introduction to Western Planting, p. lii.)

Florida: for I haue bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I haue not searched the ende thereof, and I knowe not whether it passe through.\* And in all these Countreys there are okes, and bortz, ashes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines, prussetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, hasel-trees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there haue bene found redde plummes. And very faire corne groweth there and peason grow of their owne accord, gooseberries and straw berries. And there are goodly Forrests, wherein men may hunt And there are great store of stagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Sauages say there bee Vnicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as bustards, wilde geese, cranes, turtle doues, rauens, crowes, and many other birds. All things which are sown there, are not past two or three dayes in coming vp out of the ground. I haue tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of France. And ye neede not to sowe your Wheate vntill March, and it will be ripe in the midst of August. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reason why it snoweth there oftener then in France is, because it raineth there but seldome: for the raine is conuerted into snowes.

A Bay in 42. degrees giuing some hope of a passage.

The cause of the often snowing in Canada.

All things aboue mentioned, are true.

Iohn Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberual.

There is a pardon to be seene for the pardoning of Monsieur de Saine terre, Lieutenant of the sayd Monsieur de Roberual, giuen in Canada in the presence of the sayde Iohn Alphonse.

The Voyage of Iohn Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberual, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remayned the same summer, and all the next winter.

Sir Iohn Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual,

\* The Bay of Fundy is probably here alluded to.

appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost : And hauing in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as women, accompanied with diuers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saineterre his lieutenant, l'Espiney his Ensigne, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noire Fontaine, Dieu Lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and Iohn Alfonse of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The same day about noone we came athwart of Chefe de boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Munday the seuteenth of the sayde Moneth wee departed from Chefe de-boys. The winde serued vs notably for a time : but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long space : For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harbrough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaine, where wee stayed so long, and had such contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, vntill the seuenth of Iune. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint Iohn, where wee founde seuteene Shippes of fishers. While wee made somewhat long abode heere, Iaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with fve sayles the yeere before, arriued in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his small company withstand the Sauages, which went about dayly to annoy him : and that this was the cause of his returne into France. Neuerthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commanded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooued as it seemeth with ambition, because they would haue all the glory,

of the discouerie of those partes themselues, stole  
 Iaques Cartier stole priuily away the next night from vs, and without  
 away. taking their leaues departed home for Bretaine.

Wee spent the greatest part of Iune in this Harbour of Saint Iohn, partly in furnishing our selues with fresh water, whereof wee stooode in very great neede by the way, and partly in composing



and taking vp of a quarell betweene some of our Countreymen and certaine Portugals. At length, about the last of the afore-sayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and passed by the Isle of Ascension: and finally arriued foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place wee found a conuenient Harbour for our shipping, where wee cast anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a conuenient place to fortifie ourselues in, fitte to command the mayne Riuer, and of strong situation against all inuasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of Iuly, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and prouisions on shore, and began to trauaile in fortyfying of our selues.

Of the Fort of France-Roy, and that which was  
done there.

HAuing described the beginning, the middest, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberual in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayled so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arriued in the sayde Countrey, accompanied with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a fleete. The sayde Generall at his first arriuell built a fayre Fort, neere and somewhat Westward aboue Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, situated vpon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were diuers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere vnto it were an Ouen and Milles, and a stooue to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated vpon the great Riuer of Canada, commonly called France prime, by Monsieur Roberual. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoever was brought with vs was sent to be kept: and neere vnto that Towre there is another small riuer. In these two places aboue and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged.

And in the moneth of August, and in the beginning of September euery man was occupied in such woorke August 1542.  
September 14. as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of

September, our aforesayde Generall sent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appoynted for Admirall Monsieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carie newes vnto the King, and to come backe againe vnto him the yeere next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him, and were found in this country.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter

The propor-  
tion of their  
victuals. in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scantled so, that in eche messe they had but two loaues weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at Dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at supper, and about two handfùls of Beanes without Butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper.

About that time the Sauages brought vs great store of Aloses, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get kniues and other small trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease in their legges, reynes, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee depriued of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

Note that the yce began to breake vp in April.

The length of  
the Winter. Monsieur Roberual vsed very good iustice, and punished euery man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. Iohn of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and diuers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they liued in quiet.

#### The maners of the Sauages.

TO declare vnto you the state of the Sauages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they

would bee as white and as fayre : but they paynt themselues for feare of heat and sunne burning.

In stead of apparell, they weare skinnnes vpon them like mantles; and they haue a smal payre of breeches, wherewith they couer their priuities, as well men as women. So haue they of Ceuola, and Quiuira, and Meta Incognita. They haue hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they haue no shirts : neither couer they

their heads, but their hayre is trussed vp aboute the crowne of their heads, and playted or broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all vnsalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, as well fish as flesh. They haue no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they must best finde foode, as Aloses in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Mulletts, Surmulletts, Barz, Carpes, Eelcs, Pinperneaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkespynes, and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

Touching their bread, they make very good : and it is of great myll : and they liue very well ; for they take care for nothing else.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

They haue a King in euery Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient vnto him : and they doe him honour according vnto their maner and fashion. And when they Their govern- ment. trauayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

The weomen nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnnes of furre.

The voyage of Monsieur Roberual from his Fort in Canada vnto Saguenay, the fifth of Iune, 1543.

MONsieur Roberual the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Sagugnay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said prouince of Saguenay on the Tuesday the 5. day of Iune 1543. after supper : and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But vpon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode ouer against the place before mentioned : but on the Wednesday about sixe of the clocke in the morning they

set sayle, and sayled against the streame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesayd Generall.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there vntill his returne from Saguenay, which he appoynted to be the first of Iuly, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gaue commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayde Lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance vntill the sayd first day of Iuly, were receiued by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

On Thursday the 14. of Iune Monsieur de l'Espiney, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeual, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noire Fontaine, and one named la Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday the 19. of Iune aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Villeneuve, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixscore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to stay yet vntill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of Iuly.

The rest of this Voyage is wanting.

## THE VOYAGES AND NAUIGATIONS

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO VIRGINIA, AND THE SEUERAL DIS  
COUBRIES THEREOF CHIEFLY AT THE CHARGES OF THE  
HONOURABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, FROM 33 TO  
40 DEGREES OF LATITUDE: TOGETHER WITH THE SUCSESSE  
OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES THERE PLANTED: AS LIKEWISE  
A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, WITH THE INHABITANTS,  
AND THE MANIFOLD COMMODITIES. WHEREVNTO ARE  
ANNEXED THE PATENTS, LETTERS, DISCOURSES, &c. TO  
THIS PART BELONGING.

A DISCOURSE OF WESTERN PLANTING, WRITTEN  
BY M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1584.

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

[The following Discourse, one of the most curious and valuable contributions to the History of early discovery in the New World, has remained practically unknown from the date of its composition to the present time. Written, as appears from the title-page, of which I give a copy on page 173, by Hakluyt at the request of Mr. Walter Raleigh,<sup>1</sup> it must, according to the same authority, have been composed between the 27th of April and the middle of September 1584, the former being the date of sailing of Raleigh's two ships there mentioned and the latter the date of their return. The title-page itself must have been added afterwards, as it speaks of "Mr. Walter Raghly, nowe knight," and the 21st chapter of the Discourse seems to have been added at the same time. Its object was evidently to urge Elizabeth to support Raleigh's adventure, in which he was then embarked under a patent granted him on 25th March 1584. It is not, therefore, surprising to find from a letter written by Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham on the 7th April 1585,<sup>2</sup> and from another paper in the Rolls Office, indicated in Mr. Lemon's Calendar of State Papers

<sup>1</sup> He was only knighted some time between December 1584 and February 1585.

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office. Dom. Eliz. Addenda. Vol. xxix., No. 9. This letter was printed in full in the Maine Historical Society's *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Vol. ii.

of the reign of Elizabeth, 1581-90, Vol. cxv., art. 127, that this Discourse was presented to the Queen by Hakluyt in the early autumn of 1584.<sup>1</sup> Four copies were certainly made of this Discourse—the original, which Hakluyt would probably keep; one for the Queen; one for Walsingham (as appears from the paper in the Record Office mentioned above); and the copy from which the present text is taken, and which alone seems to have contained the 21st chapter. Perhaps this last copy was made for the Earl of Leicester, as the paper above alluded to states that the Earl “hath very earnestly often times writ for it.” However this may be, no copy of the Discourse was known to exist till the sale of Lord Valentia’s collection, when Mr. Henry Stevens bought the manuscript here published. Its value seems to have been properly appreciated by him, owing perhaps to the following memoranda written in pencil on the second blank leaf, in the handwriting, it is believed, of Lord Valentia:—

“This unpublished manuscript of Hakluyt’s is extremely curious.

“I procured it from the family of Sir Peter Thomson.”

“The editors of the last edition would have given any money for it, had it been known to have existed.”<sup>3</sup>

After fruitless endeavours “to find for it a resting place in some public or private library in America, and subsequently in the British Museum,”<sup>4</sup> Mr Stevens sent it to Puttick & Simpson’s Auction Rooms, where it was knocked down to Sir Henry Phillpotts for £44. (May, 1854.)

In the library, then, of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, did our manuscript lie till 1867, when Dr. Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College, was commissioned by the Governor of Maine, in pursuance of the Resolves of the Legislature in aid of the Maine Historical Society, to procure, during his travels in England, materials for the early History of the State. An application made by Dr. Woods to Sir Thomas Phillpotts revealed the existence of Hakluyt’s Discourse. Dr. Woods set to work to edit this valuable document, but a fire destroyed most of his materials, and was followed by physical infirmity which forbade literary labour. Dr. Charles Deane’s familiarity with the topics suggested by the matter in hand, and his position as a “Collaborateur” of Dr. Woods for some months, at once pointed him out as the right man to do the work to the Standing Committee of the Maine Historical Society. Dr. Deane undertook the task, and an excellent octavo edition of Hakluyt’s Discourse appeared in due course, entitled:—

“Documentary History of the State of Maine. Vol. II., containing A Discourse on Western Planting, written in the year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt. Published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriation from the State. Cambridge (Mass.): Press of John Wilson and Son. 1877.”

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction by Leonard Woods to the Reprint of Hakluyt’s Discourse for the Maine Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> A great collector of Rare Books, who died in 1770, and whose library was sold in 1815.

<sup>3</sup> This “last edition” is evidently the limited one of Hakluyt’s Collection of Voyages of 1809-12, 5 vols. 4to, edited by R. H. Evans and printed by Woodfall.

<sup>4</sup> Stevens’s Historical and Geographical Notes, p. 20.

The text of the MS. has been preserved in every essential particular, but, following Dr. Deane's example, some capital letters have had liberties taken with them, and some few abbreviated words have been printed in full. A few corrections have also been made in the quotations from English and foreign writers, where a comparison with the originals has shown such corrections to be necessary. Dr. Deane's notes have been necessarily much shortened, and are distinguished from my own by the initials C.D.

This "extremely curious" manuscript, which by some extraordinary oversight was not included in Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages of 1598-1600*, so appropriately called by Froude "the great prose Epic of the modern English nation," and which Evans would, according to Lord Valentia, "have given any money for," for his edition of 1809-12, is now at length inserted in its proper position. This I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Deane to whom I was a perfect stranger, save perhaps in my character of corresponding member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and of the Oneida Historical Society. To Dr. Deane, therefore, I venture to tender my warmest thanks.—E.G.]







**A** particuler discourse concerning the  
greate necessitie and manifolde comody-  
ties that are like to growe to this  
Realme of Englande by the Westerne  
discoueries lately attempted, written  
in the yere 1584. by Richarde  
Hackluyt of Oxforde, at the  
requeste and direction of the  
righte worshipfull M<sup>r</sup>. Walter  
Raghy, nowe Knight, before  
the comynge home of his  
twoo barkes, and is de-  
vided into xxi chapters,  
the titles whereof fol-  
lowe in the nexte  
leafe.

**[The heads of Chapters are omitted  
as they are inserted in  
their proper places  
before each  
Chapter.]**

## The Western Planting.

## Cap. I.

That this Western discoverie will be greatly for thinlineament of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the princes of the Refourmed Religion are chiefly bounde, amongstest whome her Majestie ys principall.

SEinge that the people of that parte of AMERICA from 30. degrees in Florida northwarde unto 63. degrees (which ys yet in no Christian princes actuall possession) are idolaters ; and that those which Stephen Gomes broughte from the coaste of NORUMBEGA in the yere 1524.\* worshipped the sonne, the moone, and the starres, and used other idolatrie, as it ys recorded in the historie of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo,† in Italian, fol. 52. of the third volume of Ramusius ; and that those of Canada and Hochelaga in 48. and 50. degrees worshippe a spirite which they call Cudruaigny, as we reade in the tenth chapter of the seconde relation of Jaques Cartier, whoe saith : This people beleve not at all in God, but in one whome they call Cudruaigny ; they say that often he speaketh with them, and telleth them what weather shall followe, whether goodd or badd, &c.,‡ and yet notwithstandinge they are very easie to be perswaded, and doe all that they sawe the Christians doe in their devine service, with like imitation and devotion, and were very desirous to become Christians, and woulde faine have been baptized, as Verarsanus witnesseth in the laste wordes of his relation, and Jaques Cartier in the tenth chapter before recited—it remayneth to be thoroughly weyed and considered by what meanes and by whome this moste

\* Estevan Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, sailed with Magellan on his famous voyage in 1519, but deserted with his ship and crew. In 1525 (*not* 1524) he sailed from Corunna. He coasted Newfoundland as far south as 40 deg. Here he took on board certain Indians and carried them to Spain. (C. D.)

† Born 1478. His *Historia general de las Indias* was not published in its entirety till 1851-55. (C.D.)

‡ It appears from a passage in Chapter xvii. of this Discourse that Hakluyt had seen an original manuscript account of Cartier's second voyage in the Royal Library at Paris.

godly and Christian work may be perfourmed of enlarginge the glorious gospell of Christe, and reducinge of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in errour into the righte and perfecte way of their saluation. The blessed Apostle Paule, the converter of the Gentiles, Rom: 10. writeth in this manner: Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lorde shall be saved. But howe shall they call on him in whom they have not beleved? and how shall they beleve in him of whom they have not hearde? and howe shall they heare withoute a preacher? and howe shall they preache excepte they be sente? Then it is necessary for the salvation of those poore people which have sitten so longe in darkenes and in the shadowe of deathe, that preachers should be sent unto them. But by whome shoulde these preachers be sente? By them no doubt which have taken upon them the protection and defence of the Christian faithe. Nowe the Prynces of England called the defenders of the faithe. the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendours of the Faithe.\* By which title I thinke they are not onely chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to enlarge and advaunce the same. Neither oughte this to be their laste worke, but rather the principall and chefe of all others, accordinge to the comaundemente of our Saviour, Christe, Mathewe 6, Ffirste seeke the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof, and all other things shalbe mynistred unto you.

Nowe the meanes to sende suche as shall labour effectually in this busines ys, by plantinge one or twoo colonies of our nation upon that fyrme, where they may remaine in safetie, and firste learne the language of the people nere adjoyninge (the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye), and by little and little acquainte themselves with their manner, and so with discretion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospel. Otherwise, for preachers to come unto them rashly with oute some suche preparation for their safetie, yt were nothinge els but to ronne to their apparaunte and certaine destruction, as yt happened unto those Spanishe ffryers, that, before any plantinge, withoute strengthe and company, landed in Fflorida, where they were

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\*This title was conferred on Henry VIII. by Leo X. by a bull dated the fifth of the Ides of October 1521, for his book "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutherum," etc., printed by Pynson, 1521.

miserably massacred by the savages.\* On the other side, by meane of plantinge firste, the small nation of the Portingales towards the Southe and Easte have planted the Christian faith accordinge to their manner, and have erected many bisshopricks and colledges to traine upp the youthe of the infidels in the same, of which acte they more vaunte in all their histories and chronicles, then of anythinge els that ever they atchieved. And surely if they had planted the gospell of Christe purely, as they did not, they mighte justly have more rejoyced in that deede of theirs, then in the conqueste of the whole contrie, or in any other thinge whatsoever. The like may be saied of the Spaniardes, whoe (as yt is in the preface of the last edition of *Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis*) have established in the West Indies three archebisshopricks, to witt, Mexico, Luna, and Onasco, and thirtene other bisshopricks there named, and have builde above CC. houses of relligion in the space of fyfte yeres or thereabouts. Now yf they, in their superstition, by meanes of their plantinge in those partes, have don so greate things in so shorte space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere relligion, proposinge unto ourselves in this action not filthie lucre nor vaine ostentation, as they in deede did, but principally the gayninge of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkenes to lighte, from falsehoode to truthe, from dombe idolls to the lyvinge God, from the depe pitt of hell to the highest beauens. In the 16. of the Actes of the Apostles when Paule soughte to preache in Asia and to goe into Bithinia, the Holy Ghoste suffered him not. But at Troas a vision appered unto him by night. There stooode a man of Macedonia and prayed hym, sayenge: Come into Macedonia and helpe us. And after he had seene the vysion, ymmediatly he prepared to goe into Macedonia, beinge assured that the Lorde had called him to preache the gospell unto them. Even so wee, whiles wee have soughte to goe into other countries (I woulde I might say to preache the gospell), God by the frustratinge of our actions semeth to forbydd us to followe those courses, and the people of AMERICA crye oute unto us, their nexte neighbours, to come and helpe them, and bringe unto them the gladd tidings of the gospell. Unto the prince and people that shalbe the occasion

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\* Friar Luys Cancel of Balvastro was, with other friars, sent to Florida by Philip II. in 1549, where they were massacred and eaten. (See Eden's version of Gomara's *Historia general*, cap. xlv. (Woods.)

of this worthie worke, and shall open their cofers to the further-  
 aunce of this most godly enterprise, God shall open the bottomles  
 treasures of his riches, and fill them with aboundance of his  
 hidden blessinges; as he did to the goodd Queene Isabella,  
 which beinge in extreme necessitie, laied her owne jewells to  
 gage for money to furnishe out Columbus for the firste discovery  
 of the West Indies.

And this enterprise the princes of the relligion (among whome  
 her Majestie ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande,  
 because the papistes confirme themselves and drawe other to  
 theire side, shewinge that they are the true Catholicke church  
 because they have bene the onely converters of many millions of

A question of the adversary. infidells to Christianitie. Yea, I myselfe have bene  
 demaunded of them, how many infidells have been  
 by us converted? Whereunto, albeit I alleaged the  
 example of the mynisters which were sente from Geneva with  
 Villegagnon into Bresill,\* and those that wente with Iohn Ribault  
 into Florida,† as also those of our nation that went with Ffrobisher  
 Sir Fraunces Drake, and Ffenton;‡ yet in very deede I was no,  
 able to name any one infidell by them converted. But Godt  
 quoth I, hath his tyme for all men, whoe calleth some at the  
 nynthe, and some at the eleventh houer. And if it please him  
 to move the harte of her Majestie to put her helpinge hande to  
 this godly action, she shall finde as willinge subjectes of all sortes  
 as any other prince in all Christendome. And as for the boast-  
 inge of your conversion of such multitudes of infidells, yt may  
 justly be compted rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawn  
 them as it were oute of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say, from  
 one error into another. Nowe therefore I truste the time ys at  
 hande when by her Majesties forwardnes in this enterprise, not  
 only this obiection and suche like shalbe aunswered by our  
 frutefull labor in Godds harvest amonge the infidells, but also

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\* For an account of this earliest colony of Protestantism in America,  
 consult Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, Art. *Villegagnon* and *Richer*; Cotton Mather,  
*Magnalia*, Book I.; Southey's *History of Brazil*; De Thou, *Maimbourg*, etc.

† Dr. Woods thinks Hakluyt is mistaken in saying ministers went out with  
 Ribault to Florida. It is indeed hardly likely that Coligny would have thus  
 alienated the smypathy of Charles IX.

‡ Master Wolfall was the name of the minister who accompanied Frobisher,  
 (see vol. xii. of this edition, p. 81), and Master Francis Fletcher was with  
 Drake in his voyage round the world in 1577-80. His notes of the voyage  
 were republished by the Hakluyt Society in 1854.

many inconveniences and strifes amongst ourselves at home, in matters of ceremonies, shalbe ended. For those of the clergy which by reason of idlenes here at home are nowe alwayes coyninge of newe opynions, havinge by this voyadge to set themselves on worke in reducinge the savages to the chefe principles of our faith, will become lesse contentious, and be contented with the truthe in religion alreadie established by authoritie. So they that shall beare the name of Christians shall shewe themselves worthye of their vocation, so shall the mouthe of the adversarie be stopped, so shall contention amongst brethren be avoyded, so shal the gospell amonge infidells be published.

## Cap. II.

That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially daungerous in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their religion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Majesty.

WEe are nowe to consider the qualitie and condition of all the trades which at this day are frequented by our nation. And firste, to begynne southwarde, and so come to the northe; leavinge Bresill and Guynea where wee have little to doe, let us firste speake of our trade in Barbarie. If any of our shippes tradinge thither be dryven upon the coaste of Spaine, and that prooffe may be made that wee have bene there, they make it a very sufficient cause of confiscation of shippe and goodds, and so they thruste our men into the Inquisition, chardging them that they bringe armour, munition, and forbidden merchandize to strengthen the infidells againste these partes of Christendome; which thinge is comitted to printe and confessed by all our marchants tradinge thither. And thoughte our men escape the Spaniardes tyrannie, yet at the deathe of the prince in Barbary, all our mennes goodds there are subjecte to the spoile, the custome of the contrie permitting the people to robbe and rifle until another kinge be chosen, withoute making any kinde of restitution. Besides that inconvenience, the traficque groweth daily to worse termes then heretofore. I omytt to shewe here howe divers have bene undon by their servauntes which have

become renegadoes, of whome by the custome of the contrie their masters can have no manner of recovery, neither call them into justice.\*

In all the Kinge of Spaines domynions our men are either  
 The Domyn- inforced with wounded consciences to playe the dis-  
 ions of the semblinge hypocrites, or be drawn to mislike with  
 Kinge of the state of relligion mainteyned at home, or cruelly  
 Spayne. made away in the Inquisition. Moreouer, he being  
 our mortall enemye, and his empire of late beinge increased so  
 mightly, and our necessitie of oiles and colours for our clothinge  
 trade being so greate, he may arreste almoste the one halfe of  
 our navye, our traficque and recourse being so greate to his  
 domynions.

For the new trade in Turkey, besides the greate expences in  
 mayneteyninge a kind of ambassador at Constantinople, and in  
 sendinge of presentes to Selym the Graunde Segnior, and to  
 divers of his insatiable bassoes, our marchantes are faine with  
 large rewardes to gratifie the Knightes of Malta, in whose  
 daunger their shippes must often passe. Moreover that trade  
 is so moche to the detrymente of the State of Venice, and  
 all the other States of Italie, that they are dayly occupied in  
 seekinge howe they may overthrowe the same. Neither is it the  
 leaste incomoditie that our shippes are contynually assaulted  
 by the corsaries and pirates and gallies of Algiers, by which they  
 had a rich shippe, called the Mary Martin, soncke this yere; and  
 the last yere another was taken at Trypoly in Barbary, and the  
 master with another hanged, and the reste made slaves.  
 Besides, the barke Reynoldes was arrested at Malta, and at  
 lengthe with moche adoe delivered.†

France. To leave the Levant and to come to France, the  
 traficque there of myne owne knowledgē is growen to  
 such decaye, partely by the impositions and taxes which are daily  
 devised by the kinges partely by their subtil sleights and devices  
 to confiscate our clothes for insufficient workemanshippe, and  
 partely by their owne labour in makinge more and better clothe  
 then heretofore they were accustomed, that our men for the moste  
 parte are wearye of the contrie, and some of them utterly undone

\* See the accounts of Voyages to Barbary given in Vol. xi. of this Edition.

† See Vol. xi. of this Edition.

‡ Hakluyt was chaplain to the English Ambassador in Paris for five years.



by their subtil and unconcionable wrangling. As Flaunders.  
 for all Flaunders and the Lowe Contries, these eightene  
 yeres moste cruell civill warres have so spoiled the traficque there,  
 that there is nothing but povertie and perill, and that which is  
 worse, there is no hope of any speedy amedement.

To come to the Esterlinges and the trades with the Estlande.  
 cities within the Sounde of Denmarke, they beinge  
 deprived of the olde priviledges of the Stilliarde here in London,  
 have not only offred our men at home many injuries in their  
 cities, but seeke all the meanes they can devise wholly to cutt of  
 all our occupieng that way ; and to the same purpose have lately  
 cleane debarred our men of their accustomed and auncient  
 priviledges in all their greate townes. Also the exactions of the  
 Kinge of Denmarke at our passage in and oute by the Denmarke.  
 Sounde to Lubecke, Danske, Elvinge, Rye, Revell,  
 and the Narve, besides the power that he hath to arreste all our  
 shippes within the Sounde at his pleasure, are twoo no small  
 inconveniences and myschefes.

Our trade into Muscovye ys the laste, which was so Russye.  
 chardgeable in the begynnyng, what with the coste  
 of the discoverie, what with presentes to the Emperour, together  
 with the disorderly dealinge of their factors, that it stode them  
 in fourscore thousande poundes before they broughte it to any  
 goodd passe. And nowe after longe hope of gayne, the  
 Hollanders, as also the men of Diepe, are entred into their trade  
 by the Emperours permission ; yea, whereas at the firste our men  
 paid no custome, of late yeres, contrarie to their firste priviledge,  
 they have bene urged to pay yt. Also the chardges of bringinge  
 the Emperours embassador hither, and mayneteyninge him here,  
 and the settinge furthe of her Majesties embassadour thither with  
 presentes to the Emperour, lyenge all upon the poore marchantes  
 neckes, is no easie burden unto their shoulders. And to encrease  
 the some, the Kinge of Denmarke requireth a tribute of them,  
 though they touche not upon any of his domynions. And nowe  
 the Emperour of Russia beinge late deade,\* yt is greatly feared  
 that the voyadge wilbe utterly ouerthrowen, or els become not  
 worthe the contynuaunce.

Thus hauinge regarde unto the premisses, yt behoveth us to

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\* This is Ivan III., surnamed *the Great* ; he asked Queen Elizabeth in marriage in 1579.

seeke some newe and better trade, of lesse daunger and more securitie, of lesse dammage, and of more advauntage; the rather to avoide the wilfull perjurie of suche of our Englishe nation as trade to Spaine and other of Kinge Phillipps domynions, where this oathe followinge ys usually ministred unto the master of our shippes. Firste, he willeth the master to make a crosse with his fore finger and his thombe, layenge one ouer the other crosswise. This beinge don, he saieth these wordes followinge: You shall sweare to speake the truthe of all thinges that shalbe asked of you, and yf you doe not, that God demaunde yt of you: and the Englishe master muste saye, Amen. You shall sweare by that crosse that you bringe no man in your shippe but suche as are goodd christians, and doe beleue as our Catholicke Church of Rome dothe beleve. Nexte, that you bringe no manner of bookes but suche as are allowed by our Catholicke Church of Rome; and that you use no manner of prayers but suche as are allowed by our Church of Rome. What marchandize bringe you; suche and suche. We will and commaunde you and your companie to come on land to masse every Sonday and holy day, upon paine of discommunication. Then they open their chestes, and looke if the master and maryners bringe any bookes with them in their chesis. This don, the officers that come with the preestes aske of the master and maryners chese, butter, befe, bacon, and candles, as beggers, and they give it to them for feare they have of them, and so they goe from the shippes with their walletts full of victualls. The master doth pay four ryalls of plate for the barke that bringeth them aboorde to visite them. Thus is wilfull perjurie permitted by the governours if they knowe it. Thus the covetous marchante wilfully sendeth headlonge to hell from day to day the poore subjectes of this realme. The marchant in England cometh here devoutly to the communion, and sendeth his sonne into Spaine to here masse. These thinges are kepte secrete by the marchantes, and suche as depende upon the trade of marchandize are lothe to utter the same.

### Cap. III.

That this westernne voyage will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supplye the wantes of all our decayed trades.

The nexte thinge ys that nowe I declare unto you the como-

dities of this newe westerne discoverie, and what marchandize are there to be had, and from thence to be expected ; wherein firste you are to have regarde unto the scituation of the places which are left for us to be possessed. The contries therefore of AMERICA where unto we have just title, as being firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote, at the coste of that prudente prince Kinge Henry the Seaventh, from Florida northewarde to 67. degrees,\* (and not yet in any Christian princes actuall possession,) beinge aunswerable in clymate to Barbary, Egipte, Siria, Persia, Turkey, Greece, all the islandes of the Levant sea, Italie, Spaine, Portingale, Fraunce, Flaunders, Highe Almayne, Denmarke, Estland, Poland, and Muscovye, may ptesently or within a shorte space afforde unto us, for little or nothinge, and with moche more safetie, eyther all or a greate parte of the comodities which the aforesaid contries do yelde us at a very dere hande and with manifolde daungers.

In the first  
volume of  
Ramusius,  
fol. 374.  
pag. 2.

Firste, therefore, to begyn at the southe from 30. degrees, and to quote unto you the leafe and page of the printed voyadges of those which personally have with diligence searched and viewed these contries. John Ribault writeth thus, in the firste leafe of his discourse, extant in printe bothe in Frenche and Englishe : † Wee entred (saith he) and viewed the contrie which is the fairest, frutefullest, and pleasauntest of all the worlde, aboundinge in honye, waxe, venison, wilde fowle, fforrestes, woodes of all sortes. palme trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, the highest and greatest, with also the fairest vines in all the worlde, with grapes accordinge, which naturally withoute arte or mans helpe or trymmynge will growe to toppes of oakes and other trees that be of wonderfull greatness and heichte. And the sighte of the faire meadowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue, full of herons, curlues, bitters, mallardes, egripts, woodcockes, and all other kinde of small birdes, with hartes, hinds, bucks,

\* When Hakluyt speaks of Florida, he means not only the peninsula so called now, but as far north as 36 degrees. The most northerly European colony in 1584 was situated south of the present town of Savannah. It was probably St. Augustine.

† The work alluded to is Ribault's "The whole and true discoury of Terra Florida . . . Prynted at London by Rouland Hall for Thomas Hacket. 1563." A copy is in the British Museum. The French version is one of the lost books of the world.

wilde swyne, and all other kind of wilde beastes, as wee perceaved well bothe by their footing there, and also afterwarde in other places by their crye and roaringe in the nighte. Also there be conies and hares, silkewormes in marvelous number, a great deale fairer and better then be our silkewormes. Againe, in the sixte leafe and seconde page; They shewed unto us by signes

Sylke  
wormes  
exceedinge  
faire.

that they had in the lande golde and silver and copper, whereof wee have broughte some home. Also leade like unto ours, which wee shewed them. Also turqueses and greate abundance of perles, which as they declared unto us they tooke oute of oysters, whereof there is taken ever alonge the rivers side and amongst the reedes and in the marishes, in so marvelous abundance as it is scante credible. And wee have perceaved that there be as many and as greate perles found there as in any contrie in the worlde. In the seaventh leafe it followeth thus :

The scituation is under 30. degrees, a good clymate, healthfull, and of goodd temperature, marvelous pleasaunte, the people goodd and of a gentle and amyable nature, which willingly will obey, yea be contented to serve those that shall with gentlenes and humanitie goe aboute to allure them, as yt is necessarie for those that be sente thither hereafter so to doe. In the eighth leafe: It is a place wonderful, fertile and of stronge scituation, the grounde fatt, so that it is like that it would bringe forthe wheate and all other corne twice a yere. In the ninth leafe yt followeth :

Harvest twice  
yn the yere.

Wee founde there a greate number of pepper trees, the pepper beinge yet greene and not ready to be gathered. In the tenth leafe: There wee sawe the fairest and the greatest vines with grapes accordinge, and younge trees and small wooddes very well smellinge, that ever weare sene. Thus have you brefely the some of the comodities which were founde by John Ribault and his companie on the coaste of America from 30. to 34. degrees.

Moreouer, Doctor Monardus, that excellent phisition of Civill, writinge of the trees of the West Indies in his booke called Joyfull Newes out of the New founde worlde,\* maketh mention of

\* This "Joyfull Newes" was a translation by Frampton of the "Historia Medicinal . . . de nuestras Indias," (1574), of Nicholas Monardes, a learned Spaniard, who died in 1578. The English version was published in 1577. (C. D.) A copy is in my library.

a tree called Sassafras, which the Frenchmen founde in Florida, fol. 46 of his booke, in manner followinge: From the Florida they bringe a woodde and roote of a tree that groweth in those partes, of greate vertues and excellencies, healinge therewith grevous and variable deseases. It may be three yeres paste that I had knowledge of this tree, and a Frenche man that had bene in those partes shewed me a pece of yt, and tolde me marvellis of the vertues thereof, and howe many and variable diseases were healed with the water which was made of it, and I judged that, which nowe I doe finde to be true and have seene by experience. He tolde me that the Frenchemen which had bene in the Florida, at the time when they came into those partes had bene sicke the moste of them of grevous and variable diseases, and that the Indians did shewe them this tree, and the manner howe they shoulde vse yt, &c; so they did, and were healed of many evils; which surely bringeth admiration that one onely remedy shoulde worke so variable and marvelous effectes. The name of this tree, as the Indyans terme yt, is called Pauame, and the Frenchemen called it Sassafras. To be brefe, the Doctor Monardus bestoweth eleven leaves in describinge the sovereinties and excellent properties thereof.

The nature and comodities of the reste of the coaste unto Cape Briton I will shewe unto you oute of the printed testimonies of John Verarsanus and Stephen Gomes, bothe which in one yere, 1524. discovered the said contries, and broughte home of the people; Verarsana into Ffraunce, and Gomes into Spaine.

Verarsana, fallinge in the latitude of 34. degrees, describeth the scituation and commodities in this manner: Beyonde this wee sawe the open contrie risinge in heighte above the sandie shoare, with many faire feeldes and plaines full of mightie greate wooddes, some very thicke and some very thynne, replenished with divers sortes of trees, and plesaunte and delectable to beholde as ys possible to ymagine. And your Majestie may not thinke that these are like the wooddes of Hyrcinia, or the wilde desertes of Tartaria, and the northerne coastes, full of fruteles trees; but full of palme, date trees, bayes, and highe cypresses, and many other sortes of trees to us unknowen in Europe, which yelde moste swete savours farr from the shoare; neyther doe wee thincke that they, partakinge of the easte worlde rounde aboute them, are altogether voyde of drugs and spicerye, and other riches of golde, seinge the colour of the lande dothe altogether argue yt. And

the lande is full of many beastes, as redd dere, fallowe dere and hares, and likewise of lakes and pooles of freshe water, with greate plentie of fowles convenient for all plesaunte game. This lande is in latitude of 34. degrees with goodd and holesome ayre, temperate, betwene hote and colde; no vehement winds doe blowe in these regions, &c. Againe, in the fourth leafe as it is in Englishe, speakinge of the nexte contrie, he saieth: Wee sawe in this contrie many vines growinge naturally, which springinge upp tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lumbardye, which, if by husbandmen they were dressed in goodd order, withoute all doubte they woulde yelde excellent wyne; for havinge oftentimes seene the frute thereof dryed, which was swete and plesaunte and not differinge from oures, wee thinke they doe esteeme of the same, because that in every place where they growe, they take away the under branches growinge rounde aboute, that the frute thereof may ripen the better. Wee founde also roses, violetts, lyllyes, and many sortes of herbes and swete and odoriferous flowers. And after, in the sixte leafe, he saith: Wee were oftentimes within the lande v. or vj. leagues, which wee founde as plesaunte as is possible to declare, apte for any kinde of husbandrye of corne, wine, and oile. For therein there are plaines 25. or 30. leagues broad, open and withoute any impedymente of trees, of suche frutefulness that any seede beinge sown therein will bringe furthe moste excellent frute. Wee entred afterwarde into the wooddes, which wee founde so greate and thicke, that an armye (were it never so greate) mighte have hydd it selfe therein, the trees whereof were oakes, cypresses, and other sortes unknownen in Europe. Wee founde pomi appij, plommes, and nuttes, and many other sortes of frutes  
 These apples growe in Italy, and are yellowe like a pipeh. to us unknownen. There are beastes in greate abound-  
 aunce, as redd dere and fallowe dere, leopardes and other kindes, which they take with their bowes and arrowes, which are their cheffeste weapons. This lande is scituate in the parallele of Rome in 41. degrees and 2. terces. And towards the ende he saieth: Wee sawe many of the people weare earinges of copper hanginge at their eares. Thus farr oute of the relation of Verarsana.

Nowe to come to Stephen Gomes, which by the commande-  
 mente of the Emperor Charles the Fyfte discovered the coaste of Norumbega. These are the wordes of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo in his summarie of the Weste Indies, translated into Italian, con-

cerninge him, fo. 52 : Dapoi che vostra Maestà è in questa città di Toledo, arriuò qui nel mese di Nouembre il piloto Stephano Gomez, ilquale nel' anno passato del 1524. per comandamento di vostra Maestà, nauigò alla parte di Tramontana, e trouò gran parte di terra continouata a quella che si chiama dellos Bachallaos, discorrendo à Occidente, e giace in 40. e 41. grado, e così poco piu e meno ; del qual luogo menò alcuni Indiani, e ne sono al presente in questa città, li quali sono di maggior grandezza di quelli di terra ferma, secondo che comunemente sono, perche anchora il detto piloto disse hauer visto molti, che sono tutti di quella medesima grandezza, il color veramente è come quelli di terra ferma ; sono grandi arcieri, e vanno coperti di pelle d'animali saluatichi, e d' altri animali. Sono in questa terra eccellenti martori, e zibellini, e altre ricche fodere, delle quali ne portò alcune pelle il detto piloto. Hanno argento e rame, e secondo che dicono questi Indiani, et con segni fanno intendere, adorano il Sole e la Luna, anche hanno altre idolatrie ed errori, come quelli di terra ferma.

Another Frenche capitaine of Diepe,\* which had bene alongeste this coaste, geveth this testymonie of the people and contrie from 46. to 47. degrees, as it is in the thirde volume of viages gathered by Ramusius, fol. 423, pag. secunda : Gli habitatori di questa terra sono genti trattabili, amicheuoli, e piaceuoli. La terra è abbondantissima d'ogni frutto ; vi nascono aranci, mandorle, vua saluatica e molte altre sorti d'arbori odoriferi ; la terra è detta da paesani suoi Norumbega.

This coaste, from Cape Briton CC. (200) leagues to the south west, was again discovered at the chardges of the cardinall of Bourbon by my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, the laste yere, 1583. whoe founde a towne of fourscore houses, covered with the barks of trees, upon a rivers side, about C. leagues from the aforesaid Cape Briton. He reporteth that the contrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyann. He broughte home a kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver, whereof he gaue me some ; a kynde of muske called castor ; divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffs, dcre skynnes, all dressed, and painted on the innerside with divers excellent colours, as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermillyon,—all which things I sawe ; and divers other marchandize he hath which I

Excellent  
colours for  
dyenge.

\* Probably Jean Parmentier, of Dieppe.

saw not. But he told me that he had CCCC. and xl. crownes for that in Roan, which, in trifles bestowed upon the savages stooode him not in fortie crownes. And this yere, 1584. the Marques de la Roche wente with three hundreth men to inhabte, in those partes, whose voyadge was overthrown by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC. tonnes was caste away over againste Burwage, and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth.\*

The nature and qualitie of thother parte of America from Cape Briton, beinge in 46 degrees unto the latitude of 52. for iij. C. leagues within the lande even to Hochelaga, is notably described in the two voyadges of Iacques Cartier. In the fift chapter of his seconde relation thus he writeth : From the 19 till the 28 of September wee sailed upp the ryver, neuer loosinge one houre of tyme, all which space wee sawe as goodly a contrie as possibly coude be wisshed for, full of all sortes of goodly trees, that is to say, oakes, elmes, walnut-trees, cedars, fyrres, ashes, boxe, willoughes, and greate store of vynes, all as full of grapes as coude be, that if any of our fellowes wente on shoare, they came home laden with them. There are likewise many cranes, swannes, geese, mallardes, fesauntes, partridges, thrushes, black birdes, turtles, finches, redd brestes, nightingales, sparrowes, with other sortes of birdes even as in Fraunce, and greate plentie and store. Againe in the xi<sup>th</sup> chapter of the said relation there ys mention of silver and golde to be upon a ryver that is three monethes saylinge, navigable southwarde from Hochelaga ; and that redd copper is yn Saguinay. All that contrie is full of sondrie sortes of woodde and many vines. There is greate store of stagges, redd dere, fallowe dere, beares, and other suche like sorts of bestes, as conies, hares, martens, foxes, otters, bevers, squirrells, badgers, and rattes excedinge greate, and divers other sortes of beastes for huntinge. There are also many sortes of fowles, as cranes, swannes, outardes, wilde geese, white and graye, duckes, thrushes, black birdes, turtles, wilde pigeons, lynnets, finches, redd brestes, stares, nightingales, sparrowes, and other birdes even as in Fraunce. Also, as wee have said before, the said ryver is the plentifullest of fyshe that ever hath bene seene or hearde of, because that from the heade to the mouthe of

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\* Not improbably the old seaport of *Brouage*, near La Rochelle, now deserted. This appears to be the only notice extant of an expedition by de La Roche in 1584. For an account of his later expedition, consult Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, pp. 210-212.—C. D.



yt you shall finde all kinde of freshe and salt water fyshe accordinge to their season. There are also many whales, porposes, sea horses, and adhothuis, which is a kinde of fishe which wee have neuer seene nor hearde of before. And in the xii<sup>th</sup> chapter thus: We understoode of Donnacona and others that . . . there are people cladd with clothe as wee are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of gold and redde copper; and that within the land beyonde the said ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguinay, ys an iland envyroned rounde aboute with that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, and, as they have hearde say of those of Saguinay, there was never man hearde of that founde oute the begynnynge and ende thereof. Finally, in the postscripte of the seconde relation, wee reade these wordes: They of Canada saye, that it is a moones sailinge to goe to a land where cynamonde and cloves are gathered.

And nowe, because hitherto I have spoken of the outwarde coaste, I will also alledge the comodities of the inland, in the latitude of 37. degrees, about the citie of Ceuola, usinge the very wordes of Vasques de Coronado, in the thirde chapter of his Relation, written to Don Antonio di Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, which sente him thither with many Spaniardes and iiij. C. horses and a thousande Indians to discover those contries.\* He, speakinge there of the citie of Ceuola, procedeth in this manner: In questo doue io sto hora alloggiato possono esserui qualche dugento case tutte circondate di muro, e parmi che con l'altre che non sono cosi possono arriuare a cinquecento fuochi. V' è un' altra terra vicina, che è una delle sette, ed è alquanto maggior di questa, e un' altra della medesima grandezza di questa, e l'altre quattro sono alquanto minori, e tutte io le mando dipinte a vostra Signoria con il viaggio, e pergamino doue va la pittura si trouo qui con altri pergamini . . . hanno mantelli dipinti della maniera che io mando a vostra Signoria, non raccolgono bombaso . . . pero ne portano mantelli, come ella vedrà per la mostra; ed è vero che si ritrouo nelle lor case certo bombaso filato: . . . et hanno delle turchine penso in quantità . . . si trouaron in una carta due puncte di smeraldi, e certe picciole pierre rotte, che tirano al color di granate, . . .

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\* The full account in English of de Coronado's travels is given by Hakluyt in this collection. Hakluyt probably was ignorant of Spanish, as he always quotes the French or Italian versions.

ed altre pietre di cristallo . . . si trouaron galline . . .  
 son buonissime e maggiori che quelle di Messico. . . . Si  
 trouo buonissima herba ad un quarto di legha di quà. . . .  
 Mangiano le migliori tortelle che io habbia veduto in alcuna  
 parte. . . . Hanno buonissimo sale in grano, che leuano da  
 un lagune che è lunghe una giornata di quà. . . . Vi sono  
 di molti animali, orsi, tigri, leoni, porci spinosi, lepri, conigli, e  
 certi castrati della grandezza d' un caualllo, con corni molto  
 grandi e code picciole. . . . Vi sono delle capre saluatiche,  
 delle quali ho veduto le teste, . . . e le pelli de i cingiali.  
 Vi sono cacciagioni di cerui, pardi, caurioli molto grandi . . .  
 fanno otto giornate verso le champagne al mare di settentrione.  
 Quiui sono certe pelli ben concie, e la concia e pittura gli dan  
 doue uccidon le vacche. In the last chapter he addeth: Mando  
 a vostra Signoria una pelle di vacca, certe turchine e duoi pen-  
 denti d'orecchie delle medesime, e quindici pettini de gl'Indiani,  
 e alcune tauolette guarnite di queste turchine, &c. And for a  
 conclusion he endethe sayenge: In questo luogo s'è trouato  
 alquantomò oro ed argento, che quei che s'intendon di miniera non  
 l' han reputato per cattiuo.

And Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in his Generall Historie of  
 the Indies, fol. 297. and 298. in treatinge of the seconde voyage  
 of Franciscus Vasques de Coronado from Ceuola to Tignes, from  
 Tignes to Cicuic, and from Cicuic to Quiuira, saïeth firste of the  
 contrye about Tignes: Ci sono in quel paese melloni, e cotone  
 bianco e rosso, del quale fanno piu larghi mantelli, che in altre  
 bande delle Indie. And of Quiuira he saïeth: è Quiuira in  
 quaranta gradi, è paese temperato di bonissime acque, di molto  
 herbatico, prugne, more, noci, melloni ed vue che maturanno  
 benissimo; e vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli; uiddero per la  
 costa navi che portavano arcattrarzes di oro ed argento per le proe,  
 con mercantie, e credettero ch'erano del Cataio e China: per  
 chè accennavano, che havevano nauigato trenta di.

Touchinge Newefounde lande, because no man hath better  
 searched it oute, and all the comodities thereof, then those that  
 were there the laste yere, 1583, the space of eightene daies on  
 lande, with Sir Humfry Gilbert,\* I will make rehersall thereof, as  
 I finde it comitted to printe in a learned discourse, intituled A

\* Captain Richard Whitbourne, of Exmouth, in his Preface to "A Dis-  
 course and Discovery of Newfoundland," London, 1620, says he was an eye-  
 witness to Sir H. Gilbert's taking possession of the countrey—C. D.

True Reporte of the late Discoueries and Possession taken in the Righte of the Crowne of England, of the Newfounde Landes, &c.\* The wordes are these in the firste leafe: Then Sir Humfry wente to viewe the contrye, beinge well accompanied with moste of his capitaines and souldiers. They founde the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that time of the yere, replenished with beastes and greate store of fowle of divers kyndes, and fisses of sondrye sortes, bothe in the salte water and in the freshe, in so greate plentie as mighte suffice to victuall an armye, and they are very easely taken. And in the fift chapter of the said discourse I reade in this manner: But let us omitte all presumptions, howe vehemente soeuer, and dwell upon the certentie of suche comodities as were discovered and founde by Sir Humfry Gilbert and his assistantes in Newfoundelande, in Auguste laste; ffor there may very easely be made pitche, tarr, rosen, sope ashes, in greate plentie, yea, as it is thoughte, ynoughe to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes; and of trayne oyle suche quantitie as if I shoulde set downe the value that they doe esteme it at, which have bene there, it woulde seme incredible.

To this in effecte agreeth that which one Stephanus Parmenius, a learned Hungarian, borne in Buda, and lately my bedfelow in Oxforde,† wrote unto me oute of Newfounde lande, beinge of Sir Humfryes companye: Piscium (saieth Letters the last yere, in he, writinge in Latin) inexhausta copia, inde huc Latin, out of Newfounde lande. commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra univ-  
 versa montana et sylvestris; arbores vt plurimùm pinus et abietes. Herbæ omnes proceræ, sed rarò à nostris diuersæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina et spicas in similitudinem secalis. Et facilè cultura et satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in siluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent et conficiuntur. . . . Ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus, . . . etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Afterwardes they sett the woodds on fire, which burnte three weekes together. Admiratio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spatium pateret; nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab

\* This work was reprinted in full by Hakluyt in this collection.

† Also reprinted in full in the collection. See ante.

See ante.

idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, exacerbata maris vnda ex terebinthina, quæ conflagrantibus  
 Greate heate in New-  
 founde lande in sommer. arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cælum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est vt nisi pisces qui arefiunt ad solem assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. . . . Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est. Ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ, &c.

Nowe, to passe from Newfoundland to 60. degrees, I finde it beste described by Jasper Corterealis,\* in the thirde volume of the voyadges gathered by Ramusius, fol. 417. There I reade as followeth: Nella parte del mondo nuouo che corre verso Tramontana e maestro all' incontro del nostro habitabile dell' Europa, v' hanno nauigato molti capitani, ed il primo (per quel' che si sa) fù Gasparo Cortereale Portoghese, che del 1500.v' andò con due carauelle, pensando di trouar qualche stretto di mare, donde per viaggio piu breue, che non è l' andare attorno l'Africa, potesse passare all' Isole delle Spicerie. Esso nauigò tanto auanti, che venne in luogo, doue erano grandissimi freddi, et in gradi 60. di latitudine trouò vn fiume carico di neuue, dalla quale gli dette il nome, chiamandolo Rio Neuado, nè gli bastò l'animo di passar più auanti. Tutta questa costa, che corre dal detto Rio Neuado infin' al porto di Maluas leghe 200. ilqual è in gradi 56. la vidde piena di genti, e molto habitato: sopra laqual dismontato prese alcuni per menargli seco, scoperse ancho molte Isole per mezo la detta costa tutte populate, a ciascuna delle quali diede il nome. Gli habitanti sono huomini grandi, ben proportionati, ma alquanto berrettini, e si dipingono la faccia, e tutto il corpo con diuersi colori per galanteria. Portano manigli d' argento e di rame, e si cuoprono con pelli cucite insieme di martori e d' altri animali diuersi; il verno le portano col pelo di dentro, e la state di fuori. Il cibo loro per la maggior parte è di pesce piu che d'alcuna altra cosa, massimamente di salmoni, che n'hanno grandissima copia: ed anchora che vi siano diuersi sorti d'vccelli, e di frutti, nondimeno non fanno conto se non del pesce. Le loro habitationi sono fatte di legname, delquale hanno abondantia per esserui grandissimi, ed infiniti boschi, ed in luogo di tegole le cuoprono di pelli di pesci, che ne pigliano grandissimi, e gli

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\* This voyage of Cortereale took place in 1500.

scorticano. Vidde molti vcelli, e altri animali, massimamente orsi tutti bianchi.\*

The reste of this coaste from 60. to 63. is described by Frobisher,† and in freshe memorye, so that I shall not nede to make repetition thereof.

Thus, havinge alleaged many printed testimonies of these credible persons, which were personally betwene 30. and 63. degrees in America, as well on the coaste as within the lande, which affirmed unto the princes and kinges which sett them oute, that they founde there golde, silver, copper, leade, and perles in aboundaunce; precious stones, as turqueses and emrauldes; spices and druggs, as pepper, cynamon, cloves, rubarb, muske called castor, turpentine; silke wormes, fairer then ours of Europe; white and redd cotten; infinite multitudes of all kinde of beastes, with their tallowe and hides dressed and undressed; cochenilio, founde last yere by the men of St. John de Luze, and many other kindes of coulours for clothinge; millions of all kindes of fowles for foode and fethers; salte for fisshinge; excellent vines in many places for wines; the soile apte to beare olyves for oile; all kindes of frutes, as oranges, almondes, filberdes, figges, plomes, mulberies, raspis, pomi appij, melons; all kinde of odoriferous trees and date trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, sapines, hony and waxe; and in New founde lande aboundaunce of pynes and firr trees, asshes, and other like, to make mastes and deale boordes, pitche, tarr, rosen; and hemepe for cables and cordage; and, upp within the Graunde Baye, exceedinge quantitie of all kynde of precious furies (whereof I sawe twentie thousande French crownes worthe the laste yere broughte to Paris to Valeron Perosse and Mathewe Grainer, the kinges skynners); also, suche aboundaunce of trayne oile to make sope, and of fishe as a third part of Europe ys furnished therewith,—I may well and truly conclude with reason and authoritie, that all the comodities of all our olde decayed and daungerous trades in all Europe, Africa, and Asia haunted by us,

A singular  
commoditie  
for dyenge  
of Englishe  
clothe.

Things inci-  
dent to a  
navy.

\* In all these Italian quotations, the edition by Dr. Deane has the word *e* or *ed* spelled *et*, a curious blunder.

† In a "True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie," written by George Best, who accompanied Frobisher, London, 1578, and reprinted by the Hakluyt Society.

may in shorte space for little or nothinge, and many for the very workemanshippe, in a manner be had in that part of America

Prevention which lieth betwene 30. and 60. degrees of northerly  
to be taken latitude, if by our slackness we suffer not the Frenche  
hede of. or others to prevente us.

#### Chap. IV.

That this enterprize will be for the manifolde ymployment of numbers of idle men, and for breedinge of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the comodities of our realme.

IT is well worthe the observation to see and consider what the like voyadges of discoverye and planting in the Easte and Weste Indies hath wroughte in the kingdomes of Portingale and Spayne; bothe which realmes, beinge of themselves poore and barren and hardly able to susteine their inhabitants, by their discoveries have founde suche occasion of employmente, that these many yeres we have not herde scarcely of any pirate of those twoo nations; whereas wee and the Frenche are moste infamous for our outeragious, common, and daily piracies. Againe, when hearde wee almoste of one theefe amongst them? The reason is, that by these, their new discoveries, they have so many honest wayes to set them on worke, as they rather wante men than meanes to ymploy them. But wee, for all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharpe execution of the same in poonishinge idle lazye persons, for wante of sufficient occasion of honest employmente, cannot deliver our commonwealthe from multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabondes. Truthe it is, that throughe our longe peace and seldome sicknes (twoo singuler blessinges of Almightye God) wee are growen more populous than ever heretofore; so that nowe there are of every arte and science so many, that they can hardly lyve one by another, nay rather they are readie to eate upp one another; yea many thousandes of idle persons are within this realme, which, havinge no way to be sett on worke, be either mutinous and seeke alteration in the state, or at leaste very burdensome to the commonwealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdnes, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred

Idle persons  
mutynous  
and desire  
alteration in  
the state.

and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne awaye<sup>r</sup> or els at lengthe are miserably hanged, even xx<sup>d</sup>. at a clappe oute of some one jayle. Whereas yf this voyadge were put in execution, these pety theves mighte be condempned for certen yeres in the westernne partes, especially in Newfounde lande, in sawinge and felling of tymber for mastes shippes, and deale boordes; in burninge of the firres and pine trees to make pitche, tarr, rosen, and sope ashes: in beatinge and workinge of hempe for cordage; and, in the more southerne partes, in settinge them to worke in mynes of golde, silver, copper, leade, and yron; in draggingge for perles and currall; in plantinge of suger canes, as the Portingales have done in Madera; in mayneteynaunce and increasinge of silke wormes for silke, and in dressinge the same; in gatheringe of cotten whereof there is plentie; in tillinge of the soile there for graine; in dressinge of vines whereof there is greate aboundaunce for wyne; olyves, whereof the soile is capable, for oyle; trees for oranges, lymons, almondes, figges, and other frutes, all which are founde to growe there already; in sowinge of woade and madder for diers, as the Portingales have don in the Azores; in dressinge of raw hides of divers kindes of beastes; in makinge and gatheringe of salte, as in Rochel and Bayon, which may serve for the newe lande fisshinge; in killinge the whale, seale, porpose, and whirlepoole for trayne oile; in fisshinge, saltinge, and dryenge of linge, codde, salmon, herringe; in makinge and gatheringe of hony, wax, turpentine; in hewing and shapinge of stone, as marble, jeate, christall, freestone, which will be goodd balaste for our shippes homewardes, and after serve for noble buildinges; in makinge of caske, oares, and all other manner of staves; in buildinge of fortes, townes, churches; in powderinge and barrellinge of fishe, fowles, and fleshe, which will be notable provision for sea and lande; in dryinge, sortinge and packinge of fethers, whereof may be had there marvelous greate quantitie.

Besides this, such as by any kinde of infirmitie cannot passe the seas thither, and now are chardgeable to the realme at home, by this voyadge shal be made profitable members, by employinge them in England in makinge of a thousande triflinge thinges, which will be very goodd marchandize for those contries where wee shall have moste ample vente thereof.

And seinge the savages of the Graunde Baye, and all alonge the mightie ryver that ronnethe upp to Canada and Hochelaga, are greatly delighted with any cappe or garment made of course

wollen clothe, their contrie beinge colde and sharpe in the winter, yt is manifeste wee shall finde greate utteraunce of our clothes, especially of our coursest and basest northerne doosens, and our Irishe and Welshe frizes and rugges ; whereby all occupations belonginge to clothinge and knittinge shalbe freshly sett on worke, as cappers, knitters, clothiers, wollmen, carders, spyners, weavers, fullers, sheremen, dyers, drapers, hatters and such like, whereby many decayed townes may be repaired.

In somme, this enterprice will mynister matter for all sortes and states for men to worke upon ; namely, all severall kindes of artificers, husbandmen, seamen, marchauntes, souldiers, capitaines, phisitions, lawyers, devines, cosmographers, hidrographers, astronomers, historiographers ; yea olde folkes, lame persons, women, and younge children, by many meanes which hereby shall still be mynistrred unto them, shalbe kepte from idlenes, and be made able by their owne honest and easie labour to finde themselves, withoute surchardginge others. For prooffe of the last part of my allegation I will use but onely this one example followinge.

In the yere of our Lorde 1564. at what tyme the Flemishe nation were growen, as yt were, to the fulnes of their wealthe and to the heighte of their pride, and not remembringe what wonderfull gaine they had yerely by the wolles, clothes, and comodities of England, beganne to contempne our nation and to reiecte our clothes and comodities, a subjecte of the then twoo Erles of Emden, a man of greate observation, wrote a notable discourse to the younge erles, to take occasion of that present tyme by offer of large priviledges in Emden to the Englishe men.\* In which discourse, the said subjecte, for the better inducemente of the said twoo younge erles, dothe write of his owne knowledge, as he in his discourse affirmeth, and as also by his reporte appereth in the 22d booke of Sleydans Comentaries,† that, anno 1550. Charles the Fifte, then Emperour, would have had the Spanishe Inquisition broughte into Andwerpe and into the Netherlandes ; whereabout there was moche adoe, and that neither the sute of the

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\* This is a lost book. Emden was the capital of East Friseland. With reference to the removal of the English merchants at Antwerp to Emden, consult Strype's *Life of Grindall*, Oxford, cap. ix.

† No less than seven editions of Sleidan's *De quatuor monarchiis* were printed by the Elzeviers alone, a proof of the popularity of the work. An English translation by John Daus was published in London in 1560.



towne of Andwerpe, nor the requeste of their frendes, could perswade the Emperour from it, till at the laste they tolde him playnely, that if the Inquisition came into Andwerpe and the Netherlandes, that the Englishe marchantes woulde departe oute of the towne and out of his contries; and upon declaration of this suggestion, searche was made what profite there came and comoditie grewe by the haunte of the Englishe marchantes. Then was it founde by searche and enquirie, that within the towne of Andwerpe alone, there were fourtene thousande persons fedde and mayneteyned onely by the workinge of Englishe commodities, besides the gaines that marchantes and shippers with other in the sayd towne did gett, which was, the greatest parte of their lyvinge, which were thoughte to be in nombre half as many more; and in all other places of his Netherlandes by the indrapinge of Englishe woll into clothe, and by the workinge of other Englishe comodities, there were thirtie thousande persons more mayneteyned and fedd; which in all amounteth to the number of l.j.M. persons. And this was the reporte that was geven to this mightie Emperour whereby the towne of Andwerpe and the Netherlandes were saved from the Inquisition. And in the ende of the 45th article of the same discourse, also, he setteth down by particuler accompte howe the subjectes of Six hundred the same Emperour in the Netherlandes dyd gaine thousand yerely onely by the woll and wollen clothe that came ponde eche yere oute of England, almoste vi.C.M<sup>li</sup>. I say by Englishe <sup>gained yerely</sup> almoste sixe hundreth thousande poundes sterling, <sup>wolles.</sup> besides the gaines they had for sondry other thinges, that were of marvelous somes.

Nowe if her Majestie take these westernre discoveries in hande, and plante there, yt is like that in shorte time wee shall vente as greate a masse of clothe yn those partes as ever wee did in the Netherlandes, and in tyme moche more; which was the opinion of that excellent man, Mr Roberte Thorne, extante in printe in the laste leafe savinge one of his discourse to Doctor Lea,\* ambassador for King Henry the Eighte, in Spaine, with Charles the Emperour, whose wordes are these: And althoughe (saieth he) wee wente not into the said ilandes of spicerye, for that they are the Emperours or Kinges of Portingale, wee shoulde by the way, and comynge once to the lyne equinoctiall, finde landes no

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\* Reprinted in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," 1582.

lesse riche of golde and spicerie, as all other landes are under the said lyne equinoctiall ; and also shoulde, yf wee may passe under the northe, enjoye the navigation of all Tartarye, which should be no lesse profitable to our comodities of clothe, then those spiceries to the Emperour and Kinge of Portingale

This beinge soe, yt commeth to passe, that whatsoever clothe wee shall vente on the tracte of that firme, or in the ilandes of the same, or in other landes, ilandes, and territories beyonde, be they within the circle articke or withoute, all these clothes, I say, are to passe oute of this realme full wroughte by our naturall subjectes in all degrees of labour. And if it come aboute in tyme that wee shall vente that masse there that wee vented in the Base Contries, which is hoped by greate reason, then shall all that clothe passe oute of this realme in all degrees of labour full wroughte by the poore naturall subjectes of this realme, like as the quantitie of our clothe dothe passe that goeth hence to Russia, Barbarie, Turkye, Persia, &c. And then consequently it followeth, that the like number of people alleaged to the Emperour shal be sett on worke in England of our poore sujetes more then hath bene ; and so her Majestie shall not be troubled with the pitefull outecryes of cappers, knytters, spynners, &c.

And on the other side wee are to note, that all the comodities wee shall bringe thence wee shall not bringe them wroughte, as wee bringe now the comodities of Fraunce and Flaunders, &c., but shall receive them all substaunces unwroughte, to the employmente of a wonderfull multitude of the poore subjectes of this realme in returne. And so to conclude, what in the number of thinges to goe oute wroughte, and to come in unwroughte, there nede not one poore creature to steale, to starve, or to begge as they doe.

And to answer objections ; where fooles for the swarminge of beggars alleage that the realme is too populous,  
 Objection. Solomon saieth, that the honour and strengthe of a  
 Answer. prince consisteth in the multitude of the people.

And if this come aboute, that worke may be had for the multitude, where the realme hath nowe one thousande for the defence thereof, the same may have fyve thousande. For when people knowe howe to live, and howe to maynetayne and feede their wyves and children, they will not abstaine from mariage as nowe they doe. And the soile thus aboundinge with corne, fleshe,

mylke, butter, cheese, herbes, rootes, and frutes, &c., and the seas that envyyron the same so infynitely aboundinge in fishe, I dare truly affirme, that if the nomber in this realme were as greate as all Spaine and Ffraunce have, the people beinge industrious, I say, there shoulde be founde victualls ynoughe at the full in all bounty to suffice them all. And takinge order to cary hence thither our clothes made in hose, coates, clokes, whoodes, &c., and to returne thither hides of their owne beastes, tanned and turned into shoes and bootes, and other skynnes of goates, whereof they have store, into gloves, &c., no doubt but wee shall sett on worke in this realme, besides sailers and suche as shalbe seated there in those westerne discovered contries, at the leaste C. M. subjectes, to the greate abatinge of the goodd estate of subjectes of forreine princes, enemies, or doubtfull friends, and this *absque injuria*, as the lawyers say, albeit not *sine damno*. And having a vente of lynnens, as the Spaniardes have in the rest of that firme, wee may sett our people, in making the same, infinitely on worke, and in many other thinges besides; which time will bringe aboute, thoughte nowe, for wante of knowledge and full experience of this trade, wee cannot enter into juste accompte of all particulers.

#### Cap. V.

That this voyage will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weeks or three monethes every yere one or twoo C. saile of his subjectes shippes at the fyshinge in Newfounde Land.

THE cause why the Kinge of Spaine, these three or foure yeres last paste, was at suche intollerable chardges in furnishinge oute so many navies to wyne Tercera, and the other small ilandes of the Azores adjacent to the same, was the opportunitie of the places in interceptinge his West India flete at their returne homewarde, as a matter that toucheth him indeede to the quicke. But the plantinge of twoo or three strong fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betweene Florida and Cape Briton, woulde be a matter in shorte space of greater damage as well to his flete as to his westerne Indies; for wee shoulde not onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the returne thereof, but

also in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania.

Touchinge the fleete, no man (that knoweth the course thereof, comynge oute betwene Cuba and the Cape of Florida, alonge the gulf or straite of Bahama) can denye that it is caried by the currant northe and northeaste towards the coaste which wee purpose, God willinge to inhabite; which hapned to them not two yeres past, as Mr. Jenynges and Mr. Smithe, the master and masters mate of the shippe called the Toby, belonginge to Bristowe, infourmed me, and many of the chefest merchauntes of that citie, whereof they had particuler advertisement at Cadiz in Spaine a little before by them that were in the same flete the selfe same yere, and were in person driven upon the same coaste, and sawe the people, which they reported to be bigge men, somewhat in make like the Hollanders, and lighted on a towne upon a ryvers side, which they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in lengthe. Besides the current, it is also a thinge without controversie, that all southerne and south easterne windes inforce the Spanish flete returninge home nere or upon the aforesaide coaste, and consequently will bringe them into our daunger, after wee shalbe there strongly settled and fortified.

Wee are moreover to understande that the savages of Florida are the Spaniardes mortall enemyes, and wilbe ready to joyne with us againste them, as they joyned with Capitaine Gourgues, a Gascoigne, whoe beinge but a private man, and goinge thither at his owne chardges, by their aide wonne and rased the three small fortes, which the Spaniardes aboute xx<sup>th</sup> yeres agoe had planted in Florida after their traiterous slaughter of John Ribault; which Gourgues slewe, and hanged upp divers of them on the same trees whereon the yere before they had hanged the Frenche. Yea, one Holocotera, brother to one of the kinges of the savages, leapinge upp on an highe place, with his owne handes slewe a Spanishe canonier as he was puttinge fire to a pece of ordynance; which storye is at large in printe sett furthe by Monsieur Poplynier in his book intituled *Trois Mondes*.

Also, within the lande on the northe side of Nova Hispania, there is a people called Chichimici, which are bigg and stronge men and valiaunte archers, which have contynuall warres with the Spaniardes, and doe greatly annoyne them. The Spanishe histories which I have reade, and other late discourses, make greate mention of them. Yea, Myles Phillipps, who was xiiij.

yeres in those partes, and presented his whole travell in writinge to her Majestie, confesseth this to be moste certaine.\*

Nowe if wee (being thereto provoked by Spanishe injuries) woulde either joyne with these savages, or sende or give them armor, as the Spaniardes arme our Irishe rebels, wee shoulde trouble the Kinge of Spaine more in those partes, then he hath or can trouble us in Ireland, and holde him at suche a bay as he was never yet helde at. For if (as the aforesaide Miles Phillipps writeth) yt be true, that one negro which fledd from his cruell Spanishe master is receaved and made capitaine of multitudes of the Chichimici, and daily dothe grevously afflicte them, and hath almoste enforced them to leave and abandon their silver mynes in those quarters, what damage mighte divers hundreds of Englishe men doe them, being growen once into familiaritie with that valiaunte nation.

And this is the greatest feare that the Spaniardes have, to witt, our plantinge in those partes and joyning with those savages, their neighbours, in Florida, and on the northe side of Nova Hispania. Which thinge an Englishe gentleman, Capitaine Muffett, whoe is nowe in Fraunce, tolde divers tymes this laste winter in my hearinge and others of credite, namely, that when he was in Spaine, prisoner, not longe since, he hearde the treasurer of the West Indies say, that there was no suche way to hinder his master, as to plante upon the coaste nere unto Florida, from whence by greate ryvers any man mighte easily passe farre upp into the lande, and joyne with his enemies, whereof he stooode in contynuall feare; and said moreover, that that was the occasion why suche crueltie was used towards John Ribaulte and his companie upon his seekinge to settle there.

Fynally, if wee liste not to come so nere Florida, this is a matter of no small momente, that if we fortifie our selves about Cape Briton, nere Newfounde land, The benefite of plantinge aboute Cape Bryton or Newfounde lande. partely by the strengthe of our fortification, and partely by the aide of our navye of fishermen, which are already comaunders of others there, haveinge our double forces thus joyned together, wee shalbe able upon every sooden to cease upon one or twoo hundreth Spanishe and Portingale shippes, which for tenne weekes or three monethes are there on fisshinge every yere. This I say will be suche

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\*See Myles Phillipps's *Voyage*, *post.* Also consult Nicholas, *Pleasaunt Historie of the Conquest of the West India*, 1578, pp. 378-9.

a bridle to him and suche an advantage vnto us, as wec cannot possibly ymagine a greater. And thus the Frenche served them in the time of Mounsieurs being in Flaunders, caryenge awaye oute of some harborowes three or foure Spanishe and Portingale shippes at ones; and more they woulde have taken, if our Englishmen, and, namely, one of myne acquaintaunce of Ratcliffe, had not defended them. And hither of necessitie they must yerely repaire, beinge not able to make their provision for land and sea of fishe in any place els, excepte on the coaste of Ireland, and at Cape Blancke in Africa, which twoo are nothinge worth in comparison to this thirde place.

So shall wee be able to crye quittance with the King of Spaine if he shoulde goe aboute to make any generall arreste of our navye, or rather terrifie him from any such enterpryse, when he shall bethinke himself that his navye in Newfounde lande is no lesse in our daunger, then ours is in his domynions wheresoever.

#### Cap. VI.

That the mischief that the Indian treasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Emperor, father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideration of the Queens most excellent Majestie, leaste the contynuall comynge of the like treasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this realme, whereof already we have had very daungerous experience.

IT is written in the xxxth. article of the discourse before specified, dedicated to the twoo younge Erles of Emden, as followeth, verbatim: With this greate treasure did not the Emperour Charles gett from the French Kinge the Kingdome of Naples, the Dukedome of Myllaine, and all other his domynions in Italy, Lombardy, Pyemont, and Savoye? With this treasure did he not take the Pope prisoner, and sack the sea of Rome? With this treasure did he not take the Frenche Kinge prisoner, and mayneteyne all the greate warres with Fraunce, since the yere of our Lorde 1540. to the yere of our Lord 1560. as is declared in the 12. and 13. article of his booke? With this treasure hath he not mayneteyned many cities in Italie, as well againste the Pope as againste the Frenche Kinge, as Parma, Florence, and such other? With this treasre did he not overthrowe the Duke of

Cleave, and take Gilderland, Groyningelande, and other domynions from him, which oughte to be a goode warninge to you all, as it shall be most plainely and truly declared hereafter? With this treasure did he not gett into his handes the Erledome of Lingen in Westfalia? With this treasure did he not cause the Erle of Esones, your subject, to rebell againste your Graces father and againste you? The cause you knowe beste. And what worke this treasure made amongst the princes and townes in Germany, when the Duke of Saxony and the Launtzgrave Van Hessen were taken, Sleydan, our owne countryman, by his Chronicle declareth at large. And did not this treasure, named the Burgundishe asse, walke and ronne in all places to make bothe warr and peace at pleasure? And tooke he nothinge from the Empire then? Yes, truly, to moche, as you shall heare. When the Emperour Charles was firste made Emperour, what were the townes and contries in the Netherlandes that justly or properly came to him by birthe or inheritaunce? There was Brabant, Flaunders, Holland, Zeland, Artoys, and Henego. And yet there is a greate question concerninge Holland, howe the Emperour Charles and his progenitors came by yt, and what homage and duetie they oughte to doe for the same; because thereby the house of Burgundy hath the mouthe of the River Rhene at their commaundemente, which is to the greate losse, damage, and daunger of Germanye, as hereafter shalbe declared. Here be all the contries that belonged to the house of Burgundie when the Emperour Charles was made Emperour. But howe moche hath bene added to the Netherlandes since by him, contrary to his oathe made? That are these townes and contries, as yt appereth in Sleydans Chronicle; viz., Lutzenburge, Lyme-burge, Gelderlande, the Erldome of Sutphen, the Citie and Straite of Vtright,\* with all the landes in Over Isel, West Frizeland, the Citie of Groninge, and Groininge land. And, as before it is saied, he hath by pollicie gotten into his handes the Erldome of Lingen, standinge in Westfalia; and by the like pollicie, with money, he is become the defender of the Erledome of Esons, which is parcell of your Graces contrie of East Frizeland. All these contries and townes, with the treasure of the Netherlandes, hath he taken from the Empire.

Thus farr procedeth this excellent man in describinge howe

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\* Utrecht.

Charles the Emperour employed his treasure to the afflictinge and oppressinge of moste of the greatest estates of Christendome. The effecte of these treasures which he had oute of the West Indies, Peter Martir of Angleria, in the epistle dedicatory of his Decades to the said Emperour Charles, truly prognosticaied in the begynnyng, before hand, where he writeth thus unto him: Come therefore and embrace this newe worlde, and suffer us no longer to consume in desire of your presence. From hence, from hence (I say), moste noble younge Prince, shall instrumentes be prepared for you whereby all the worlde shalbe under your obeysaunce.

And in very deede it is moste apparaunte that riches are the fittest instrumentes of conqveste, and that the Emperour turned them to that use.

To leave the father and come to the sonne, hath Kinge Phillipps injuries not Kinge Phillippe employed his treasure as injuriously to all princes and potentates of Europe? Is it not he that with his Indian treasure corrupted the

*Quinquiviri* in Portingale, that in the interregnum were appointed overseers of the comon wealthe, and so hath joynd that kingdom to his, with all the ilandes, townes, domynions belonging to that crowne? Is it not he that with his treasure hath gon aboute to hier some ungodlye murderer to make away with Don Antonio, one while by open proclamation, and another while *sotto capo*, under hande? Is it not he that by his treasure hath hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life? And hath he not suborned by hope of rewarde other moste ungodly persons to lay violent handes upon other Christian princes? Hath not he these many yeres given large pensions to nombers of English unnaturall rebelles? Doth he not support the semynaries of Rome and Rhemes to be thornes in the sides of their owne comon wealthes? Hath not he divers tymes sente forren forces into Ireland, furnished with money, armor, munition, and victualls? Hath not he sente rounde somes of money into Scotland, both to the Kinge and those that are aboute him, to alter the estate there and to trouble oures? And is it not knowen that this Spanishe asse rometh

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\* These baseless assertions of complicity on the part of Phillip in the attempts on the life of William of Nassau, only prove the bitter prejudices of the Protestant party. I am surprised to find Dr. Deane, in a note on this passage, endorsing Hakluyt's unfounded charges.



upp and downe laden throughe all Fraunce, and, when it coule not enter into the papistes gates, yt hath soughte to enter into the courtes of the princes of the Relligion, to renewe the late intermitted civile warres? What it hath done and nowe dothe in all the Empire and the Lowe Contries, and is like to worke in other places unlesse speedy order be taken to hinder it, is described at large by Mounsieur de Aldegonnde, a Germaine gentleman, in a pithie and moste earnest exhortation (extant in Latine, Italian, Frenche, Englishe, and Duche) concerninge the estate of Christendome, together with the meanes to defend and preserve the same, dedicated to all Christian kinges, princes, and potentates.\*

### Cap. VII.

What speciall meanes may bringe Kinge Phillippe from his highe throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighbours; wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the West Indies.

Firste, it is to be considered that his domynions and territories oute of Spaine lye farr distant from Spaine, his chefest force; and farr distante one from another; and are kepte by greate tyrannie; and *quos metuunt oderunt*. And the people kepte in subjection desire nothinge more then freedome. And like as a little passage given to water, it maketh his owne way; so give but a small menne to suche kepte in tyranie, they will make their owne way to libertie; which way may easely be made. And entringe into the consideration of the way how this Phillippe may be abased, I meane firste to begynne with the West Indies, as there to laye a chefe foundation for his overthrowe. And like as the foundation of the strongest holde undermined and removed, the mightiest and strongest walles fall flatt to the earthe; so this prince, spoiled or intercepted for a while of his treasure, occasion by lacke of the same is geven that all his territories in Europe oute of Spaine slide from him, and the Moores enter into Spaine it selfe, and the people revolte in every forrein territorie of his, and cutt the throates of the proude hatefull Spaniardes, their governours. For this Phillippe already owinge many millions,

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\* Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde was born at Brussels in 1538. Died 1598. He was at one time Ambassador to England.—See Motley's United Netherlands, I. 145.—C. D.

and of late yeres empaired in credite, bothe by lacke of abilitie of longe tyme to pay the same, and by his shameful losse of his Spaniardes and dishonors in the Lowe Contries, and by lacke of the yerely renewe of his revenewe, he shall not be able to wage his severall garrisons kepte in his severall frontiers, territories, and places, nor to corrupte in princes courtes, nor to doe many feates. And this weyed, wee are to knowe what Phillip ys in the West Indies; and that wee be not abused with Spanish braggs, and made to beleve what he is not; and so, drawen into vain feare, suffer fondly and childishly our owne utter spoile. And therefore wee are to understande that Phillippe rather governeth in the West Indies by opinion, then by mighte; ffor the small manred of Spaine, of itself being alwayes at the best slenderly peopled, was never able to rule so many regions, or to kepe in subjection such worldes of people as be there, were it not for the error of the Indian people, that thincke he is that he is not, and that doe ymagine that Phillippe hath a thousande Spaniardes for every single naturall subjecte that he hath there. And like as the Romaines, allured hither into Britaine, perced the Iland, and planted here and there in the mouthes of rivers and upon straites, and kepte colonies, as at Westchester upon the River of Dee, at York upon the River of Owse, and upon the Rivers of Thames and Severne, and yet in truthe never enjoyed more of the contries rounde aboute then the Englishe, planted at Bulloine and Calice, did of the Frenche soile adjoyninge, nor in effecte had the Brittishe nation at comaundement; even so hath the Spaniarde perced the Indies, and planted here and there very thinlye and slenderlye, withoute havinge the Indian multitude in subjection, or in their townes and fortes any number to holde any of them againste the meanest force of a prince; so as in truthe the Spaniarde ys very weake there. And it is knowen to Sir Fraunces Drake, and to Mr. Hawkins, and Miles Phillipps (which Miles lyved xiiij. yeres in Nova Spania), and to dyvers others of her Majesties subjectes besides that have been there, that the ilandes there abounde with people and nations that rejecte the proude and bluddy government of the Spaniarde, and that doe mortally hate the Spaniarde. And they also knowe that the Moores, and suche as the Spaniardes have broughte thither for the mynes and for slavery, have fledd from them into the inlandes, and of them selves maineteine in many places frontier warres againste the Spaniarde, and many tymes so pre-

vaile, and especially of late, that the Spaniardes have bene inforced to sende the Spanishe marchauntes them selves into the warres, althoughe yt be againste the speciall priuiledges graunted by Charles, the late Emperour, to the marchauntes, as may plainely appere by Spanishe marchauntes letters taken by Sir Fraunces Drake passinge in the sea of Sur towarde Panama, to be conveyed into Spaine. And it is thoughte that Sir Fraunces Drake and some other Englishe are of so greate credite with the Symerons and with those that mayneteyne those frontier warrs, that he mighte, bringinge thither a fewe capitaines and some of our meaner souldiers late trayned in the Base Contries, with archers and lighte furniture, &c., bringe to passe that, joyninge with those inland people, Kinge Phillippe mighte either be deprived of his governmente there, or at the leaste of the takinge of his yerely benefite of the mynes. Thus with small chardge and fewe men, nowe and then renewinge this matter by a few sailes to be sent thither for the comforte of suche as shalbe there resident, and for the incouragemente of the Symerons, greater effecte may followe then by meetinge with his golden flete, or by takinge of his treasures once or twise at the sea; for by this meanes, or by a platforme well to be sett downe, England may enjoye the benefite of the Indian mynes, or at the leaste kepe Phillippe from possessinge the same.

Hereunto yf wee adde our purposed westerne discoueries, and there plante and people ryally, and fortifie strongly, and there builde shippes and maineteine a navy in special porte or portes, wee may by the same either encounter the Indian fleete, or be at hande as it were to yelde freshe supplye, courage, and comforte, by men or munition, to the Chichimici and the Symerons, and suche other as shalbe incited to the spoile of the mynes; which in tyme will, if it be not looked to, bringe all princes to weake estate, that Phillippe, either for religion or other cause, dothe hate; as the aforesaide Monsieur de Aldegond, in his pithie and moste earneste exhortation to all Christian kinges, princes, and potentates to beware of Kinge Philipps ambitious growinge, dothe wisely and moste providently forwarne.

To this may be added (the realme swarming with lustie youtthes that be turned to no profitable use), there may be sente bandes of them into the Base Contries in more rounde numbers then are sente as yet. Ffor if he presently preuaile there, at our doores,

farewell the traficque that els wee have there (whereof wise men can say moche). And if he settle there, then let the realme saye adewe to her quiet state and safetie.

If these enter into the due consideration of wise men, and if platformes of these thinges be sett downe and executed duelye and with spede and effecte, no doubt but the Spanishe empire falles to the grounde, and the Spanishe kinge shall be lefte bare as Aesops proude crowe, the peacocke, the perot, the pye, and the poppingey, and every other birde havinge taken home from him his gorgeous fethers, he will, in shorte space, become a laughinge stocke for all the worlde; with such a mayme to the Pope and to that side, as never hapned to the sea of Rome by the practise of the late Kinge of famous memory, her Majesties father, or by all the former practises of all the Protestant princes of Germanie, or by any other advise layde downe by Monsieur de Aldegond, here after by them to be put in execution. If you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure, which is *neruus belli*, and which he hath almoste oute of his West Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed.

#### Cap. VIII.

That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothinge so large as is generally ymagined and surmised, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsly geven oute by the Popishe clergie and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

AS the Secretary of Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, called Custodio Etan, tolde me lately at Paris, that the Portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill, and all the Easte Indies above twelve thousande Portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, which was confirmed by one of the Kinges capitaines borne in Goa, then presente; and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumors of power and by secrecie, then by any greate force which they had in deede; so the like is to be proved of the Kinge of Spaine in his West Indies; ffor he beinge in

those partes exceedinge weakę hath nothinge such numbers of people there as is geven oute, neither doe his domynions stretch so far as by the ignoraunte ys ymagined; which hereby easly may appere, seinge he hath no one towne or forte in actuall possession in all Nova Hispania to the northe of the Tropicke of Cancer, which standeth in 23. degrees and an halfe, excepte the towne of St. Helen and one or twoo small fortes in Florida; ffor as it is in the mappe of Culiacan, sett oute twoo yeres paste with all diligence by Ortelius, Sainte Michael ys the furthest towne nothwarde on the backside of America, and Panuco and Villa Sancti Jacobi are the moste northerly colonies upon the Bay of Mexico that the Spaniardes inhabite; as the aforesaide Ortelius witnesseth in his mapp of those partes sett oute this presente yere, 1584; which three townes above named are under or within the Tropicke of Cancer. And so the Kinge of Spaine hath no footing beyonde the said tropicke; which is contrary to the opinion of the vulgar sorte, which ymagine, and by some are borne in hande, that all is his from the equinoctiall as farr as the lande stretcheth towardes the pooles.

Againe, that parte from the equinoctiall to the southe ys not inhabited by the Spaniarde any further then unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, as ys to be seene by the mappe of Peru this presente yere, 1584. published by Ortelius; neither is it peopled by the Spaniardes to any purpose savinge onely alonge the sea coaste. And howe weakę they are there, and what simple shippinge they have, and howe dayly they be afflicted by the inhabitauntes, Sir Fraunces Drake can tell, and the letters by him intercepted doe declare. One Peter Benzo de Millano, which was fourtene yeres in those partes, writeth, that they holde greate townes, some with tenne, some with sixe, some with foure, and some with twoo souldiers, and that they commaunded that all the Italians, whome they called Levantines in contempte, shoulde departe those contries, fearinge they shoulde reveale their nakednes to the worlde, and encourage others to sett in footing there.

Seinge then they suffer no people of Europe to inhabite there savinge onely Spaniardes, any reasonable man that knoweth the barennes, desolation, and wante of men in Spaine, together with these eightene yeres civill warres that hath wasted so many thousandes of them in the Lowe Contries, must nedes confesse that they have very simple forces there. The provinces which

he holdeth are indeede many, yet more denuded than ever was any empire since the creation of the worlde. Some of his contries are dispeopled, some barren, some so far asonder, also held by tyrannie, that in deed upon the due consideration of the matter, his mighte and greatenes is not suche as *prima facie* yt may seme to be. And weare yt not that he doth possesse suche a masse of treasure oute of the Indies, the Frenche kinge, of one onely kingdome, with his onely people of Fraunce, were able to drive him oute of all his domynions that he hath in the worlde.

The example of Anti- It is written that Antigonus, beinge to fighte againste certaine of his enemyes, they appered a farr gonus. of to be so huge and mightie, that his souldiers were halfe afraied to encounter them; but, beinge encouraged by his valour, they easely overthrewe them in a conflicte; whereof he stripped one or twoo, which, beinge turned oute of their bombasted and large apparell, were in deede but very weakelinges and shrimpes; which, when he had shewed unto his souldiers, they were ashamed of themselves that ever they had bene afraied of suche wretches. So when wee shall have looked and narrowly pried into the Spanishe forces in America, wee shalbe doubtles ashamed of ourselves, that wee have all this while bene afraied of those dissemblinge and feble scarr crowes.

This which I say concerninge the weakenes of the Spaniardes in America may more easelie appere by this note followinge, gathered by an excellent Frenche capitaine moste experte and privie to the state and force of the islandes, havens, townes, and fortes of all that parte of America which lieth upon our ocean; which excedinge large coaste beinge so rarely and simply manned and fortified, wee may well assure ourselves that the inlande is moche more weake and unmanned.

### Cap. IX.

The names of the riche townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the north side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of AMERICA, under the Kinge of Spaine.

1. OUer against the ilande of Margarita there is a towne called Cumana, wherein is great store of perle. There be divers boates belonginge to the towne, which onely dragge perles. This towne is the farthest eastwarde which the kinge hath on the

north side of India. It is environed with their enemies, viz., the Indyans and Caribes. The victualls come from this towne to Margarita.

2. The next towne westwarde is Carakas, which is very riche of golde. This towne standeth upon the sea, and hath some victualls, but not plentie, and is environed likewise with the Indians, their mortall enemies.

3. The towne Burborowate was destroyed by 50. Frenchemen, and the treasure taken awaye.

4. The nexte towne to the westwarde is called Coro, which hath greate plentie of golde and victualls. This standeth upon the sea. This is a civill contrie, and some of the Indians broughte to a civill governemente.

5. At Rio de Hacha there is a towne called Hacha, where is greate store of perle and silver, but no golde; and not farr from thence there is a perle house. There is plentie of victualls, the contrie civill, and some of the Indians at the Spaniardes com-aundement. Mr. John Hawkins told me he won this towne, and was master of yt three daies, in his laste voyadge.

6. Further westwarde is a towne called Santa Maren, alias Marta, where is greate store of golde, but little victualls. This is envyroned with Indians, enemies to the Spaniardes.

7. The nexte towne is Carthagena, where is greate store of silver, golde, and precious stone. This towne hath a number of Indians and Symerons to their enemies. There is also greate store of victualls.

8. The nexte towne thereunto is Nombro di Dios. To this towne cometh all the golde, perle, stone, and jewells that cometh from Chile, Peru, and Panama oute of the Southe Sea. To this towne cometh halfe the fleete, which taketh in halfe their treasure, and goeth to Havana, and so throughe the Gulfe of Bahama unto the Ilandes of Corvo, Flores, and the Azores, and from thence into Spaine. This towne hath no victualls but such as cometh from Panama and the ilandes by sea. By this towne is a gulfe called Gulnata, where the Symerons and Indians have certaine townes, and kepe warres dayly with the Spaniardes as well as the Indians. At the southende of the gulfe there is not paste five legues over lande into the South Sea.

9. The nexte towne is called Vraga, alias Var, where is moche golde and small store of victualls. This is a civill contrie nere to the towne; the nexte is Nicaragua.

10. At Nicaragua is moche golde that cometh out of the Southe Sea, and there is a place where they make their frigotts. There ys little victualls; the people are civill.

11. In the Bay of Hondoras is a towne called Hondoras, alias Tres Islas, where is golde and hides and greate store of victualls. This towne standeth upon an hill very strongly, and is but simply manned. This towne hath within a mile great plentie of Indians, which are at warr with the Spaniardes.

12. Then there is a towne called Porto de Cavallos, where is store of silver, stones, perles, jewells made and sett with precious stones and perles. To this towne come yerely twoo shippes, that goe from thence to the Havana, and so into Spaine with all their riches. This towne is full of victualls. This porte of Cavallos adjoyneth to the Gulfe Dowse.\*

13. All the Bay of Mexico is full of Indian townes and full of victualls. There is one towne named Vera Crux, to which towne cometh all their treasure from the citie of Mexico, and from thence to the porte of St. John de Vlloa, from thence to Havana, and so into Spayne.

## FLORIDA.

IN Florida the Spaniardes have one towne, called Sancta Helena, where they have perles, silver, and greate store of victualls. The Floridians be a gentle sorte of people, and used somtymes to heade their arrowes with silver.

There is one principall place called Rio de Jordan, alias Rio de Maio, where, in an iland, standeth a forte which was Ribaults; which river roneth throughe the lande into the Southe Sea, from whence greate plentie of treasure is brought thither. There are small pynnesses that use the same river. It is also thoughte that shippes come from Cathaio to the southwest ende of the said

river. This is very full of victualls. There was  
A speciall note of a passage. by Peter Melanda a river cutt from the Citie of Mexico to Rio de Maio,† so that moche treasure is broughte from thence to this forte with small pynnesses.

All that parte of America eastwarde from Cumana unto the River of St. Augustine in Bresill, conteyneth in lengthe alongest

\* Golfo Dulce.

† No such river was ever cut.—C. D.



to the sea side xxj. C. miles, in whiche compasse and track there is neither Spaniarde, Portingale, nor any Christian man, but onely the Caribes, Indians, and saluages. In which places is greate plentie of golde, perle, and precious stones.

On the coaste of Bresill is one goodly ile called Trinidada, conteyninge C. xx<sup>ti</sup>. miles in lengthe, and lxxv. miles in bredthe, and is onely inhabited by gentle Indians and savages borne in the said ilande. In this ilande is greate plentie of maiz, venison, fishe, wooddes, and grasse, with divers faire frutes and other comodities. Yt hath also divers goodly havens to harborowe yn, and greate stoare of tymber for buildinge of shippes. The Frenche With the kinge of this ilande wee are in league.

### Cap. X.

A brefe declaration of the chefe ilandes in the Baye of Mexico, beinge under the Kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what comodities they yelde.

THere ys one ilande, as the fleete cometh into the baye, named Margarita,\* wherein is greate store of perle ; a riche ilande full of maiz (which is their corne), oxen, shepe, goates, fowle and fishe, greate store of frutes, grasse and woods.

Ouer againste the said islande, northewarde, there is one other iland named St. John de Porto Ricco, which hath store of all manner of victualls and suger.

The nexte is a faire iland called Hispaniola, in some parte well inhabited ; havinge one citie called Sancto Domingo, which hath a faire hauen† whereunto many of the shippes of the kinges fleete come, and there devide themselves. Some goe to St. John de Leu, and some to Nombro di Dios and other partes of the mayne lande. This is a frutefull iland for all manner of victuall, hides and suger.

The nexte ilande is called Jamaica, and hath in it great store of victualls.

The nexte is a faire, greate, and longe iland, called Cuba. This iland hath a forte and haven in it called the Havana, which is the key of all India. It is called the key of India, for that the

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\* Off the coast of Venezuela.

† Port-au-Prince.

Spaniardes cannot well returne into Spaine but that they muste touche there for victualls, water, woodde, and other necessaries. It lieth at the mouthe and entraunce into the Gulfe of Bahama. This ilande hath great plentie of victualls, but it is not greatly inhabited.

There be divers other ilandes, riche for victualls, as Aeriaba, Corsal, Marigalante,\* &c., havinge not in them some xx. some x. Spaniardes a pece.

Thus you see that in all those infinite ilandes in the Gulfe of Mexico, whereof Cuba and Hispaniola are thoughte to be very nere as bigge as England and Ireland, wee reade not of past twoo or three places well fortified, as Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, and Havana in Cuba. I may therefore conclude this matter with comparinge the Spaniardes unto a drone, or an emptie vessell, which when it is smitten upon yeldeth a greate and terrible sound, and that afarr of; but come nere and looke into them, there ys nothinge in them; or rather like unto the asse which wrapte himselfe in a lyons skynne, and marched farr of to strike terror in the hartes of the other beastes, but when the foxe drewe nere he perceaved his longe eares, and made him a jeste unto all the beastes of the fotrest. In like manner wee (upon perill of my life) shall make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe, if with pierceinge eyes wee see into his contemptible weakenes in the West Indies, and with true stile painte hym oute *ad vivum* unto the worlde in his fainte colours.

And if any man woulde objecte, that if by his weakenes he had loste the treasure of the West Indies, yet the riches of the Easte Indies woulde holde upp his heade; I answer, that those contries beinge so farr of, and suche naturall malice beinge betweene the Portingale and the Spaniarde, as greater cannot be, that it is not possible for him to holde those partes no more than the other, wantinge the treasure of the West Indies to supporte his garrisons both there and in Christendome againste his manifolde and mightie enemyes.

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\* It is strange that Hakluyt should omit St. Vincent, Dominica, Guadeloupe, etc., and mention such small islands as Marigalante. The other two islands named are probably Urata and Curasoa.

## Cap. XI.

That the Spaniardes have exercised moste outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are every where there become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne with us or any other moste willinglye to shake of their moste intolerable yoke, and have begonne to doe yt already in divers places where they were lordes heretofore.

SO many and so monstrous have bene the Spanishe cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people, together with the spoiles of townes, provinces, and kingdomes, which have bene moste ungodly perpetrated in the West Indies, as also divers others no lesse terrible matters, that to describe the leaste parte of them woulde require more than one chapiter, especiall where there are whole bookes extant in printe, not onely of straungers, but also even of their owne contrey men (as of Bartholmewe de las Casas, a bisshoppe in Nova Spania); yea such and so passinge straunge and excedinge all humanitie and moderation have they bene, that the very rehersall of them drave divers of the cruel Spanishe, which had not bene in the West Indies, into a kinde of extasye and maze, so that the sayenge of the poet mighte therein well be verified :—

Quis talia fando,  
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlissis,  
Temperet a lachrimis?

Nevertheless I will repeate oute of that mightie masse and huge heape of massacres some fewe, that of them you may make an estymate of the rest, and consider what small remainder of those moste afflicted Indians have to revolte from the obedience of the Spaniardes, and to shake of from their shoulders the moste intollerable and insupportable yoke of Spaine, which in many places they have already begonne to do of themselves, withoute the helpe of any Christian prynce.

Nowe because these moste outeragious and infinite massacres are put downe by Don Bartholmewe de las Casas, the bisshoppe above mentioned, and dedicated to Kinge Phillippe that nowe ys, which author testifieth that to his inspeakable greife he was an eye witnesse of many of them, therefore it seemeth best unto me

to bringe him in, which in his firste chapter describeth the same in manner followinge :—

Upon these lambes (meaninge the Indians), so meke, so qualified and endowed of their Maker and Creator, as hath bene said, entred the Spanishe, incontinent. as they knew them, as wolves, as lyons, and as tigres moste cruell, of longe tyme famished ; and have not don in those quarters these forty yeres be paste, neither yet doe at this presente, oughte els then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflicte them, tormente them, and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties, never either seene or reade or hearde of the like (of the which some shalbe sett downe hereafter) ; so farr forthe as of above three millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that wee have seene there, there are not nowe twoo hundreth natives of the contrie. The Ile of Cuba, which is as farr in lengthe as from Valladolid untill Rome, ys at this day, as it were, all waste. St. John's Ile, and that of Jammaica, bothe of them very greate, very fertile, and very faire, are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos nere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of the north side unto that of Cuba, in nomber beinge above three score ilandes, together with those which they call the Iles of Geant, one with another greate and little, whereof the very worste is fertiler then the kinges garden at Civill, and the contrie the helthsomest in the worlde. There were in some of these isles more then five hundred thousande soules, and at this day there is not one only creature ; for they have bene all of them slaine, after that they had drawen them oute to labor in their myneralls in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more lefte of the inborne natives of that iland. A shippe ridinge for the space of three yeres betwixte these ilandes, to the ende that after the wyninge of this kinde of vintage to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a goodd Christian moved with pitie and compassion to converte and wyne unto Christe suche as mighte be founde), there were not founde but eleven persons, which I sawe. Other Iles, more than thirtie, nere to the Ile of St. John, have likewise bene dispeopled and massacred. All those Iles conteyne above twoo thousande leagues of lande, and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

As touchinge the mayne firme lande, wee are certaine that our Spaniardes, by their cruelties and cursed doinges, have dispeopled and made desolate more then tenne realmes greater then

all Spaine, comprising therein also Arragon and Portingale ; and twice as moche or more lande than there is from Civill to Jerusalem, which are above a thousand leagues ; which realmes yet, unto this presente day, remain in a wildernes and utter desolation, havinge bene before time as well peopled as was possible.

We are able to yelde a goodd and perfecte accompte, that there is, within the space of forty yeres, by these said tyranies and devilishe doinges of the Spaniardes, don to deathe unjustly and tyraneously more then twelve million soules, men, women, and children. And I verely doe beleive, and thinke I doe not mistake therein, there are deade more then fiftene millions of soules.

Thus havinge hearde of the multitudes of soules slayne, you shall heare the manner of their slaughter.

In the chapter of Hispaniola it thus followeth :

Nowe after sondry other forces, violences, and tormentes which they wroughte againste them, the Indians perceaved that those were no men descended from heaven. Some of them, therefore, hidd their victualls, others hidd their wives and their children. Some other fledd into the mountaines to seperate themselves afarr of from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conversation. The Spaniardes buffeted them with their fistes and bastianadoes, pressinge also to lay their handes on the lordes of the townes. And these cases ended in so greate an hazarde and desperatnes, that a Spanishe capitaine durste adventure to ravishe forcibly the wife of the greatest kinge and lorde of this ile. Since which time the Indians began to searche meanes to caste the Spaniardes oute of their landes, and sett themselves in arms. But what kinde of armes ! Very weake and feble to withstande or resiste, and of lesse defence. Wherefore all their warres are no more warres, then the playenge of children when as they playe at *jogo de cane* or reedes. The Spaniardes with their horses, speares, and launces, began to comitt murders and straunge cruelties. They entred into townes, burroughes, and villages, sparinge neither children nor olde men, neyther women with childe, neither them that laye in ; but they ripped their bellies and cutt them in peces, as if they had bene openinge of lambes shutt up in their folde. They laied wagers with suche as with one thruste of a sworde, woulde paunche or bowell a man in the midst, or with one blowe of a sworde most readily and moste deliverly cut of his heade, or that woulde best perce

his entralls at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, rampinge them from their mothers brestes, and crussed their heades against the cliftes. Others they caste into the rivers, laughinge and mockinge; and when they tombled into the water, they saied : Nowe shifte for thy selfe suche a one's corps. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they mett, to the edge of the sworde. They made certaine gibbets longe and loughe, in such sorte that the feete of the hanged one touched in a manner the ground; every one enoughe for thirtene, in the honour and worshippe of our Saviour and his twelve apostles (as they used to speake), and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whome they used to take and reserve alive, cuttinge of their twoo handes as nere as mighte be, and so lettinge them hange, they saied : Go you with those letters to cary tydings to those which are fled by the mountaines. They mured commonly the lordes and nobilitie on this fashion : they made certen grates of perches laid on pitchforkes, and made a little fire underneathe, to the intende that by little and little, yellinge and despairinge in these tormentes, they mighte give up the ghoste. One time I sawe foure or five of the principall lordes roasted and broyled upon these gredyrans; also I thinke that there were twoo or three of the said gredyrans garnished with the like furniture. And for that they cried oute piteously, whiche thinge troubled the capitaine that he coulde not then slepe, he comaunded to strangle them. The serjeant, which was worse then the hangman, that burned them, (I knowe his name and frendes in Civill,) woulde not have them strangled, but hymselfe puttinge bullets in their mouthes, to the ende they shoulde not crye, put to the fire, until they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaide thinges and others infinite. And forasmuche as all the people that coulde flee, hidd themselves in the mountaines and, mounted on the toppes of them, fledd from the men, so, withoute all manhodde, emptie of all pietie, behavinge themselves as savage beastes, the slaughterers and murderers of mankind, they taughte their houndes, fierce doggs, to tear them in peces at the first viewe; and, in the space that one might say a *credo*, assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had bene a swine. These doggs wroughte greate destructions and slaughters. And forasmuche as somtymes (though seldome) the Indian put to death some Spaniardes upon goodd righte and lawe of due

justice, they made a lawe betwene them, that for one Spaniarde they had to slaye an hundred Indians.

And thus farr oute of the large volume of Don Bartholomewe de las Casas, bisshophe of the cite of Chiape in the West Indies, where he lyved many yeres.\*

Bishop Bartholomewe de las Casas an eye wytnes of these cruelties.

Will you nowe heare one testymonie of Johannes Metellus Sequanus, whce was a Papiste and favoured the Spanishe superstition; yet he writes as followeth in the preface of the Historie of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis, fol. 16: At vero vt semel intelligatur quid Indos toties ad res nouas contra Hispanos moliendas, et seditiones tanta pertinacia fouendas impulerit, et quid causæ fuerit cur duo illa Christianæ Reipublicæ summa capita Indicæ nationis libertatem, frementibus quibusdam et inuitis dubio procul militibus Hispanis, sanctissimo suo calculo comprobarint, paucis nouorum dominorum in miseros immanitatem, deinde quorundam inexplebilem auaritiam, et ex his grauiores quosque tumultus, vnde noui orbis pene totius nunquam satis deploranda vastitas est sequuta, perstringam.

Johannes Metellus Sequanus.

Principio quidem illud apud plerosque milites Hispanos, pessimo sane exemplo, in more positum fuit, vti ab oculatis et fide dignis testibus perscriptum est, vt seruos suos grauissime punirent, si mercedem diurnam aut non attulissent, aut pensum in auro argentoue effodiendo non absoluissent, aut si quid leuioris denique delicti perpetrassent. Etenim vesperi reduces, cœnæ loco, primùm vestimentis exuebant, manibus dein pedibusque in transuerso palo reuinciebant: mox chorda bubaloue neruo dirissime verberabant. Sic tractatos, pice oleoue feruenti guttatim perfundebant; salita post aqua corpus abluebant, et in mensa tamdiu relinquebant, quamdiu dolorem ferre posse putarentur. Qui mos animaduertendi ipsis etiam in Christianos seruos domi familiaris esse dicitur. Post carnificinam huiusmodo, si durior dominus illis contigerat, viuos in totam noctem collo tenus defodiebant, presentissimum illud ad plagas remedium esse ludibrio dictitantes. Si quis ex illis præ dolore moreretur, id quod non raro accidit, dominus singula seruorum capita regi in occisorum locum sufficiens, ab homicidij pœna liberabatur.

\* This quotation is from the English translation, "The Spanish Colonie," London, 1583.

Hanc crudelitatem lege Baionæ, quam dicunt, quidem excusant; sed omnibus impia merito videtur, tanquam omnis pietatis expers. Quamobrem diabolicæ nomen inter Indos iure quidem obtinuit. Ad hanc autem immanitatem in miseros Indos excercendam nonnullos ingenita quædam naturæ sæuities, multis iam bellis exasperata, plerosque habendi sitis, impulit. Hinc Hispanus miles, quasi ad aucupium aut venationem, sic ad prædas hominum agendas, iam inde ab inuento nouo orbe ferri cœpit. Aut igitur bello captos in seruitutem abripiebat, aut ex eorum mancipio magnam sibi pecuniæ vim conflabat, aut eos ad diurnas operas mittebat, quarum mercedem ab ijs quotidie perquam importunus exigebat. Fuere qui seruos fodinis manciparint, in quibus insolito labore fractæ, multæ seruorum myriades periire. Alij mercibus illos permutare soliti sunt, alioque modo distrahere. Idque tam inclementer et auare nonnulli fecerunt, vt Christianæ omnis humanitatis prorsus obliti, e continente abreptos vtriusque sexus hominis, nulla nec ætatis nec valetudinis habita ratione, nauibus in vicinas insulas transportarent. Eorum non pauci qui mari non assueuerant, et in sentinam abdebantur, et fame, foetore, et squallore crudeliter absorpti sunt. Quid? quod fæminæ complures ex Hispanis grauidæ, vna cum innoxio foetu pro ancillis sunt venditæ: Atque his quidem modis, militum aliqui ad summas opes peruenerunt. Alij magnas dignitates domi forisque sunt consequuti. Alij rem pecuniariam plurimorum damnis sic auxerunt, vt inuenti sint, qui octo pecudum millia possiderent. Hanc tam insignem nostrum hominum iniustitiam atque tyrannidem fieri non potuit, quin magni statim motus et bella, tam ab ipsis inter se, quam ab incolis in illos excitata sequerentur. After a long beade roll of moste monstrous cruelties of the Spanishe nation in every place of the West Indies moste heyuously committed, he concludeth yt thus: Tanta ergo fuit Hispani militis in India tyrannis, vt ea non solum Indos, verum etiam seruorum Maurorum animos ad rebellionem impulerit. Dicuntur enim in exigua quadam insula ad septem millia defecisse. Quos Hispani initio securos et incautos facillime trucidassent, nisi suo malo vigilantes factos precibus et pacifica legatione expugnare potius quam armis frustra tentassent. Multa denique fugitiui Mauri in Nominis Dei provinciæ siluis habitant; qui inita cum incolis amicitia, ferro, flammaque Hispanos vbicunque persequuntur, et inuentos frustatim dilacerant.

This, therefore, I gather of the premisses, that those contries



whereof the Spaniarde ys lorde are partely ruinated, dispeopled, and laid waste by their incredible, and more then barbarous, and savage, endeles cruelties, and partely greuously infested by the Indians, Symerons, Moores, Chichimici revolted; and consequently he is easie to be driven thence, and turned out of all with moche lesser force then is commonly ymaged: for, Nullum violentum est diuturnum; et malus diuturnitatis custos est metus.

And surely the more I thinke of the Spanishe monarchie, the more me thinketh it is like the empire of Alexander the Greate, which grewe upp sooddenly, and sooddenly vpon his deathe was rente and dissolved for faulte of lawfull yssue. In like manner the Kinge of Spaine, nowe 59. yeres of age, as beinge borne in the yere of our Lorde 1526. in the moneth of May, and beinge subjecte to the fallinge sicknes, in common reason can be of no longe life; and leavinge no fitt yssue to wealde so greate a governemente, and a question risinge, whether his younge weake sonne, by his sister's daughter, be lawfull heire, they are like upon his deathe to fall together by the eares amongst themselves; and then, as men moste odious, not onely to the people of the West Indies, but also to all Christendome, and all the worlde beside, ys it not likely that euery province wil seke their libertie? And, to say the truthe, what nation, I pray you, of all Christendome loveth the Spaniarde, the scourge of the worlde, but from the teethe forwarde, and for advauntage? The Italians, which sometime were lordes of the earthe, in greate parte nowe broughte under his vile yoke, doe many wayes shewe the utter mislike of their satanicall arrogancie and insollencies, and in all their playes and comedies bringe in the Spanishe souldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boastinge Thraso and *miles gloriosus*; notinge to the worlde their insupportable luxuriousnes, excessive pride, and shamefull vaine glorie. The citie of Rome, beinge sackt by Charles the Emperour, the Pope and Cardinalls taken and ymprisoned, cannot brooke their doinges in their hartes. The Venecians stande daily in feare of them, almoste as moche as of the Turke, and doubte that, if they be not with spede restrained, they will inclose them and use them at their pleasure, beinge on bothe sides become almoste lordes of the mouthe of the Straites of Giberaulter. The Frenche, remembringe the takinge of their kinge prisoner, their crueltie in Florida, the late overthrowe of Strozzi and their fleete, their takinge of Tercera,

The Spanishe monarchy is like unto the monarchy of Alexander the Greate.

and other disgraces, hate them for the moste parte worse then scorpions. The Princes of Germanie, the Duke of Saxonie, the Lantsgrave of Hassia, the Duke of Cleve, the Duke Cassimere, have susteyned wronges sufficient to make them his mortall enemies. His innumerable outrages in the Netherlandes have inforced the Flemynge to those termes which nowe they stande at. Their manifold practises to supplant us of England give us moste occasion to bethinke ourselves, howe wee may abate and pull downe their highe myndes. The poore oppressed prince and people of Portingale doe watche nighte and day when to finde a conuenient occasion of defection. In fine, there is almoste no nation of Europe that may not say againste the Spaniarde with the poet: Distuleratque graues in idonea tempora pœnas; and so, Eum multos metuere necesse est quem multi metuunt; and, Multorum odijs nulla respublica stare diu potest.

### Cap. XII.

That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, or nere their contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde; that Ireland, beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and weste side, is the ncrest parte of Europe to yt, which by this trade shalbe in more securitie, and the sooner drawn to more civilitie.

IN this voyadge wee may see by the globe that wee are not to passe throughe the frozen scas, but in a temperate climate unto a contrie muche like to those partes of Gascoigne and Guyen, where heretofore our nation for a longe tyme have inhabited. And it requireth not, as longe voyadges doe, the takinge in of freshe water by the way in divers places, by reason it may be sailed in five or sixe weekes. Whereby the marchante nede [not] to expecte twoo or three yeres for one returne, as in the voyadge of Sir Fraunces Drake, of Fenton and William Hawkins; but may receave twoo returnes every yere in the selfe same shippes, I saye, and well repose themselves at their arryvalls; which thinge I myselfe have seene and understoode in Ffraunce this presente yere don by the Frenchemen; whoe, settinge furthe in January, broughte their bancke fishe which they tooke on the Bancke,

forty or three-score leagues from Newfoundelande, to Roan, in greate quantitie, by the ende of May, and afterwarde returned this yere againe to the fisshinge, and are looked for at home towards the fiftē of November. To the spedy perfourmaunce of which voyadge this is a speciall furtheraunce: that whereas moste of our other voyadges of like lengthe require twoo or three sortes of windes at the leaste, one onely winde suffiseth to make this; which was no doubtē the cause of the quicke returne of my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, whoe departed from Newhaven in January was twelve moneths, arryved at Cape Briton in xx<sup>d</sup> daies space, and from thence discouered very diligently CC. leagues towards Norumbega, and had traficque with the people in tenne or twelue places; founde a towne conteyninge fourescore houses, and returned home, with a diligent description of the coaste, in the space of foure monethes, with many comodities of the contrie, which he shewed me.

Moreover this passage is neither by the Straites of Giberaulter, nor on the coastes of Spaine, Portingall, Fraunce, nor Flaunders, neither by the Sounde of Denmarke, nor Wardhouse in Norway; so as in takinge our course on the highe seas wee shall not be in daunger of the corsaries in the Levant, nor of the gallies of Barbarie, nor of the Turke, nor of any state of Italie, neither of the Spaniarde, the Frenche, nor the Dane, nor of any other prince nor potentate within the Sounde in the northe, or in the northeaste partes of the worlde.

Wee may also trauell thither and perfourme the same at all tymes of the yere, with the like facilitie as our marchantes of Bristowe, Weymouthe, and other partes of the West Contries travell for woade to the iles of St. Mighell and Tercera (which are halfe the way thither) all the yere longe. For this coaste is never subjecte to the ise, which is never lightly seene to the southe of Cape Razo in Newfounde lande.

Besides this, in our way as wee passe to and froe, wee shall have in tempestes and other necessities the portes of Ireland to our aide, and no nerer coaste of any enemye. Moreover by the ordinary entercourse wee may annoye the enemyes to Ireland, and succour the Queens Majesties faithfull subjects, and drawe the Irishe by little and little to more civilitie; and in shorte tyme wee may yelde them from the coastes of America whatsoever comodities they nowē receave at the handes of the Spaniardes. So the Spaniardes shall wante the ordinarye victualls they receave

every yere from thence, whereby they cannot contynue traficque, nor fall so aptly to practize againste our governmente there as heretofore by their trade thither they have don and doe daily, to the greate expences of her Majestie, and no small indaungeringe and troublinge of our state.

And to conclude : in tradinge to these contries wee shall not nede, for feare of the Spanishe bloody Inquisition, to throwe our bibles and prayer bookes over boorde into the sea before our arryvall at their portes, as these many yeres wee have don and yet doe, nor take suche horrible oathes as are exacted of our men by the Spanishe searchers, to suche dayly wilfull and highe offence of Almightye God, as we are driven to continually in followinge our ordinary traficque into the Kinge of Spaines dominyons ; whereof at large wee have spoken before in the seconde chapter.

### Cap. XIII.

That hereby the revenewes and customes of her Majestie, bothe outwarde and inwarde, shall mightily be enlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties which withoute expression may be raysed.

THE manifolde testimonies, verbatim alleaged by me in the thirde chapter, of John Ribault, John Verarsanus, Stephen Gomes, Vasques de Coronado, Jaques Cartier, Gasper Corterialis, and others, which all were the discoverers of the coaste and inlande of America betwene 30 and 63 degrees, prove infallibly unto us that golde, silver, copper, perles, pretious stones, and turqueses, and emraldes, and many other commodities, have bene by them founde in those regions. To which testimonies I shoulde have added many more yf I had not feared to be tedious. Nowe the fyfte parte of all these aforementioned comodities cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge yerely reserved unto her Majestie, accordinge to the tenor of the patent graunted by King Henry the Seaventh in the xj<sup>th</sup>. yere of his raigne to John Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewes, Sebastian, and Sancius ; the wordes whereof it shoulde not be amisse here to sett downe, as they are printed in my booke of voyadges. These are the wordes : *Ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obuentionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione*

prouenientibus, prefatus Joannes et filij ac heredes et eorum deputati teneantur, et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristolliaë applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti), deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecuniis, persoluere.\*

What gaines this imposition may turne unto the Crowne of England in shorte tyme wee may more then gesse, havinge but an eye to the Kinge of Spaines renewes, which he nowe hath out of all his domynions in all the West Indies.

The like in all respectes may be saied of the renewes of the Crowne of Portingale, which, beinge of itselfe one of the smallest and poorest kingdomes of all Christendome, became in shorte space so riche and honourable soone after their entringe into their southesterne discoveries, traficques, and conquestes, that, before the deathe of their late younge kinge Sebastian, their ambassadors woulde strive and challenge for the chefest place with the embassadores of the greatest kinges of Christendome; as I have hearde it dyvers tymes spoken at Paris at my lordes table by men of greate honour and experience, in which citie moste princes and states of Christendome have their ambassadors comonly resident.

To leave them and to come to our nation, I say that amonge other meanes to encrease her Majesties customes this shalbe one, especially that by plantinge and fortifieinge nere Cape Briton, what by the strengthe of our shipps beinge harde at hande, and bearinge the sway already amongst all nations that fishe at Newfoundelande, and what by the fortes that there may be erected and helde by our people wee shall be able to inforce them, havinge no place els to repaire unto so convenient, to pay us suche a contynual custome as shall please us to lay upon them; which imposition of twoo or three hundred shippes laden yerely with sondry sortes of fish, trane oyle, and many kyndes of fures and hides, cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge all to be levied upon straungers. And this not onely wee may exacte of the Spaniardes and Portingales, but also of the Frenche men, our olde and auncient enemyes. What shoulde I speake of the customes of the greate multitudes of course clothes,

\* Hakluyt here refers to his "*Divers Voyages*," published in 1582.

Welshe frise, and Irishe ruggs, that may be uttered in the more northerly partes of the lande amonge the Esquimawes of the Grande Bay, and amonge them of Canada, Saguynay, and Hoche-laga, which are subjecte to sharpe and nippinge winters, albeit their somers be hotter moche then oures. Againe, the multitudes of small yron and copper workes, wherewith they are exceedingly delighted, will not a little encrease the customes, being transported oute of the lande. I omitt the rehersall of a thousande other triflinge wares, which, besides they may sett many women, children, and ympotent persons on worke in makinge of them, woulde also helpe to the encreasinge of the customes. Lastly, whatsoever kind of commodities shoulde be broughte from thence by her Majesties subjectes into the realme, or be thither transported oute of the realme, cannot choose but inlarge the revenewes of the Crowne very mightely, and inriche all sortes of subjectes in generally.

#### Cap. XIV.

That this action will be for the greate increase, mayneteynaunce, and safetie of our navie, and especially of greate shippinge, which is the strengthe of our realme, and for the sup-  
portation of all those occupations that depende upon the same.

IN the Statutes moste providently ordeyned for increase and maineteynaunce of our navigation in the Raignes of Kinge Richarde the Seeonde, Kinge Henry ihe Seaventh, Kinge Henry the Eighth, and her Majestie that nowe ys, thoughe many and sondry rewardes were proposed to encourage our people unto the sea, yet still I fynde complaintes of decaye of the navye, notwithstandinge so many goodly priviledges to mayneteine fisshermen, the ordeyninge of Wendisday to be a newe fishe day for the better utteraunce of their fishe that they shoulne take at sea, yea, albeit there hath bene graunted a certene proportionable allowaunce oute of the exchequer to suche as woulde builde any shippes of burden to serve the prince in tyme of warr, yet very little hath bene done in that behalfe. For, setting the Citie of London aparte, goe your waye into the west parte of England and Wales, and search howe many shippes of CC. tonnes and upwardes those partes can afforde, and you shall finde (God wotteth) no such

number as at firste you did ymagine. At this day I am assured there are scarce twoo of CC. tones beloning to the whole citie of Bristowe, and very fewe or none of the like burden alonge the channell of the Severne from Glocester to the Landes Ende on the one side, and Milforde Haven on the other. Nowe, remedie this greate and unknowne wante, no enterprise possibly can be devised more fitt to increase our great shippinge then this Westerner fortifenge and planting. For in this action wee are not to cut over the narrowe seas, in a day or a nighte, betwene Flaunders, Fraunce, or Ireland, in small barkes of xx. or xxxi. tonnes; but wee are to passe over the breste of the maine ocean, and to lye at sea a moneth or six weekes together, whereby wee shall be constraind of our selves, withoute chardginge of the Prince, to builde greate shippes, as well to avoide the daunger of tempest as also for the commoditie of portage, whereunto the greater shippes in longe voyadges are moste conveniente, which the Portingales and Spaniardes have founde oute by longe experience, whoe for that cause builde shippes of v. vj. vij. viij. C. and a M. tonnes, to sende into their Easterne and Westerner Indies.

The like whereof wee shalbe the rather invited to doe, since by this voyadge wee shall have many thinges for little or nothinge, that are necessarie for the furniture of greate shippinge. For beinge possessed of Newfounde lande, which the last yere was seized upon in her Majesties name, wee may have tarr, rosen, mastes, and cordage for the very workemanshippe of the same. All which comodities cannot choose but wonderfully invite our men to the buildinge of greate shippinge, especially havinge store of the best shipwrights of the worlde, whereof some, for wante of employmente at home, have bene driven to flye into forren partes, as into Demarke. Moreover, in the judgements of those that are experte in sea causes, yt will breed more skillfull, connyng, and stowte pilott and maryners then other belonginge to this lande. For it is the longe voyadges (so they be not to excessive longe, nor throughe intemperate clymates, as those of the Portingales into their West Indies) that harden seamen, and open unto them the secretes of navigation; the nature of the windes; the currentes and settinge of the sea; the ebbinge and flowinge of the mayne ocean; the influence of the sonne, the moone, and of the rest of the celestiaall planetts, and force which they have at sondry seasons upon that mightie body; whiche skill in sea causes the Emperour Charles the Fyfte, knowinge howe mooche yt did

ymporte his state, to the intent that it mighte better encrease  
 A lecture of amongst the Spaniardes, in great providence erected  
 the arte of a lecture of the arte of navigation in Civill, and  
 navigation. ordeyned that no man shoulde take chardge to the  
 West Indies that had not hearde the Reader of the same for a  
 certaine space, and, upon due examynation, were allowed as  
 sufficient by him, and others adjoyded unto him as assistantes to  
 examyn matters of experience; which order, if it had bene  
 established in England, such grosse and insufficient felowes as he  
 that caste away the Admirall of Sir Humfreyes company, with an  
 C. persons in her, to the west of Newfounde lande, this tyme  
 twelve moneths, had not bene admitted to take so greate a  
 chardge.

But to returne to the increase and mayneteynaunce of our  
 shippes and shippmen; I say that this is not as the voyadge to  
 Muscovy, which is open not paste foure monethes, but may be  
 passed and repassed at our pleasure at all tymes of the yere, and  
 so our maryners may be sett on worke all the yere longe.  
 Neither is the trade likely to prove so small as that of Muscovy,  
 wherein not past tenne shippes at the moste are employed ones a  
 yere. For here there is a greate hope, the contrie beinge as bigge  
 as all Europe, and nothinge in frutefulness inferior to yt, as I have  
 proved before at large in the thirde chapter, that wee shall have  
 two flectes as bigge as those of the Kinge of Spaine to his West  
 Indies, imployed twise in the yere at the leaste, especially after  
 our fortifienge in the contrie, the certene place of our factory  
 beinge there established; whereby yt muste nedes come to passe  
 that our navye shalbe mightely increased and mayneteyned,  
 which will not onely be a chefe strengthe and suertie in tyme of  
 warres, as well to offende as defende, but will also be the mayne-  
 teynaunce of many masters, maryners, and seamen, whereby they  
 their wyves, and children, shall have their lyvinges, and many  
 cities, townes, villages, havens, and creeks nere adjoyninge unto  
 the sea coaste, and the Queenes subjectes, as brewers, bowchers,  
 smithes, ropers, shipwrights, tailors, shoemakers, and other  
 victuallers and handicraftes men, inhabitinge and dwellinge nere  
 thereaboutes, shall also have by the same greate parte of their  
 lyvinge. For prooffe thereof wee nede not to seeke any further  
 then unto oure neighbours of Spaine and Portingale; whoe, since  
 the firste discoverie of their Indies, have not onely mightely  
 enlarged their domynions, marveilously enriched themselves and



their subjectes, but have also by juste accompte trebled the number of their shippes, masters, and maryners,—a matter of no small moment and importance; insomuche that nowe, of late Kinge Phillippe hath made the Marques de la Cruz, <sup>Marques de</sup> which laste yere wonne Tercera, Graunde Admirall of <sup>la Cruz Ad-</sup>myrall of the the Ocean Sea, and Prince d'Oria of Genoa, Admirall Ocean. in the Levant. A taste of this increase wee have had in our owne selves, even by our trade of fisshinge in Newfoundelande; which, as yt is well knownen, hath bene occasion, that in sondry places of this realme divers tall shippes have bene builde and sett furthe even of late daies; and more would be if, whereas nowe havinge but twoo moneths or tenne weekes of fisshinge, by this newe plantinge they mighte be drawn more south-westerly, where the speciall fisshing places are, bothe for plentie and greateness of fishe; and beinge oute of daunger and ympedimente of yse, they mighte fishe there safely the greatest parte of the yere, and by their nereness unto our sortes there, builde aboute Cape Briton, they mighte yelde succour unto them, and likewise by their neighbourhoode be themselves in more securitie.

Fynally, their shippes, their goodds, and their persons shoulde not be subjecte to soodden arrestes of straungers, as they are in all other trades of Christendome; but shoulde enioye as greate freedome, libertie, and securitie as they usually doe in their native contrie; the havens, townes, and villages in those partes beinge occupied and possessed by their fellowe subjects; which freedome and liberty will greatly encourage them to contynewe constantly in this newe traficque.

A meane to  
avoi'de the  
sodden  
arrests of  
our navy.

### Cap. XV.

That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these laste luckye westernne discoveries, for feare of the danger of beinge prevented by other nations, which have the like intention, with the order thereof, and other reasons therewithall alleaged.

HAVINGE by Gods goodd guidinge and mercifull direction atchieved happily this presente westernne discoverye, after the seekinge the advauncement of the kingedome of Christe, the seconde chefe and principall ende of the same is traficque, which

consisteth in the vent of the masse of our clothes and other commodities of England, and in receaving backe of the nedeful comodities that wee nowe receive from all other places of the worlde. But forasmoche as this is a matter of greate ymportance, and a thinge of so greate gaine as forren princes will stomacke at, this one thinge is to be don, withoute which it were in vaine to goe aboute this; and that is, the matter of plantinge and fortificacion, withoute due consideracion whereof in vaine were it to thinck of the former. And therefore upon the firste said viewe taken by the shippes that are to be sente thither, wee are to plante upon the mouthes of the greate navigable rivers which are there, by stronge order of fortification, and there to plante our colonies. And so beinge firste settled in strengthe with men, armour, and munition, and havinge our navy within our bayes, havens, and roades, wee shall be able to lett the entraunce of all subjectes of forren princes, and so with our freshe powers to encounter their shippes at the sea, and to renewe the same with freshe men, as the soodden feightes shall require; and by our fortes shalbe able to holde faste our firste footinge, and readily to annoyne suche weary power of any other that shall seke to arryve; and shalbe able with our navye to sende advisement into England upon every soodden whatsoever shall happen. And these fortifications shall kepe the naturall people of the contrye in obedience and goodd order. And these fortes at the mowthes of those greate portable and navigable ryvers may at all tymes sende upp their shippes, barks, barges, and boates into the inland with all the comodities of England, and returne unto the said fortes all the comodities of the inlandes that wee shall receive in exchange, and thence at pleasure convey the same into England. And thus settled in those fortes, yf the nexte neighbours shall attempte any annoyne to our people, wee are kepte safe by our fortes; and wee may, upon violence and wronge offred by them, ronne upon the rivers with our shippes, pynnesses, barks, and boates, and enter into league with the petite princes, their neighbours, that have alwayes lightly warres one with an other, and so entringe league nowe with the one, and then with the other, wee shall purchase our owne safetie, and make ourselves lordes of the whole.

Contrarywise, withoute this plantinge in due tyme, wee shall never be able to have full knowledge of the language, manners, and customes of the people of those regions, neither shall wee be

able thoroughly to knowe the riches and comodities of the inlandes, with many other secretes whereof as yet wee have but a small taste. And althoughe by other meanes wee mighte attaine to the knowledge thereof, yet beinge not there fortified and strongly seated, the French that swarme with multitude of people, or other nations, mighte secretly fortifie themselves before us, hearinge of the benefite that is to be reaped of that voyadge ; and so wee shoulde beate the bushe and other men take the birdes ; wee shoulde be at the chardge and travell, and other men reape the gaine.

To make this plaine by example, in the sixte leafe of the Italian edition of the Historie of Fernando Cortes, written by Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, is lively described the folly of John Grijalua for his not inhabitinge that goodd and riche contrie of Iucaton ; which ymmediatly after he had neglected, the same Fernando Cortes tooke in hande and perfourmed, and gott all the honour and comoditie from him, leavinge greate wealthe and honour to his posteritie, and to himself an everlastinge name. The story is thus : Giouan di Grigalua se n'ando a Yucatan, combattete con quelli Indiani di Ciapoton, et se ne ritorno ferito ; entro nel fiume di Tauasco, che per questo si chiama ora Grijalua, nel qual riscatto o cambio per cose di poca valuta molto oro, robbe di cotone, et bellissime cose di penne ; stette in San Giouanni di Vilhua, piglio possessione di quel paese per il Re, in nome del Gouvernatore, Diego Velasquez ; et cambio la sua merciaria per pezzi di oro, coperte di cotone et penne ; et si hauesse conosciuto la uentura sua, haueria fatto populatione in paese cosi ricco, come lo pregauano li suoi compagni et lui saria stato quello che dipoi il Cortes. Ma tanta uentura non era riseruata per chi non la conosceua ancora che si scusaua che lui non andaua per popolare, se non per riscattare o permutare le cose che leuaua del Gouvernatore ; et discoprire se quella terra di Yucatan era isola o terra ferma. And if any man liste to knowe what intertainment he had of his uncle at his returne for not inhabitinge upon the present occasion, yt followeth in the ende of the same chapter in these wordes : Et quando arriuò non lo uolse uedere il Gouvernatore suo zio, che li fece quello che lui meritaua.

The like story wee have, fol. 298. of Franciscus Lopez de Gomera his Generall Historie of the West Indies, of Vasques de Coronado, which, after excedinge greate chardges bestowed for

royall furnishinge furthe upon his voyadge to Ceuola and Quiuira, for wante of courage and for other priuate respectes, neglected plantinge there, had as colde welcome, at his dastardly and unconsiderate returne, of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, as Grijalua had of his uncle above mentioned. It is written thus of him after his returne from Quiuira :—

Cascò del cauallo in Tiguez Francisco Vasquez, e con il colpo uscì di ceruello et disuariaua; questo caso alcuni credettero che fusse finto, altri n'ebbero grandissimo dolore; quelli che l'intendeano a mala parte stauano male con lui per che non si metteua a popolare. And a little afterwarde: molto dispiacque a Don Antonio di Mendoza che fusero ritornati, per che haueua speso piu di sessanta milla pesi d'oro in quella impresa . . . molti uolsero restare là, ma Francesco Vasquez di Coronado, che ricco era et nuouamente maritato con vna bellissima donna, non volse, dicendo che non si poteriano sustentarsi ne difendere in così povero paesa et tanto lontani del soccorso; caminarono presso a tre milla miglia di longo in questa giornata.

Notwithstandinge these colourable excuses and dispraisings of the contrie, yt is described by relation of his owne companions in this manner in the same leafe: è Quiuira in quaranta gradi è paesa temperato, di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, purgne, more, noci, et melloni, et vue che maturano benissimo; non c'è cotone, et vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli.

The greate inconvenience of the delaye and neglecte of plantinge with spede of goodd contries newe discourd, beinge well weyed and foreseene by John Ribault, made him to plante and fortifie at his firste voyadge, though it were with but thirtie men; which, that you may the better understande, together with the wise course and choice of place which oughte to be had in plantinge and seatinge at the firste, I will alleage his owne wordes which are in the laste leafe of his firste printed voyadge: Wherefore (my lorde), saith he, I truste you will not thincke it amisse (consideringe the comodities that may be broughte thence) yf we leave a number of men there, which may fortifie and provide themselves of thinges necessarie; for in all newe discoveries it is the chefest thinge that may be don, at the begynnyng to fortifie and people the contrie. I had not so soone set furthe this to our companie, but many of them offred to tary there; yea, with suche a goodd will and jolly courage, that suche a number did offer themselves as wee had moche to doe to stay their opportunitie;

and namely, of ourshippe masters and pilotts, and suche as wee woulde not spare. Howebeit, wee lefte there but to the number of 30 men in all, gentlemen, souldiers, and maryners, and that at their owne sute and prayer, and of their owne free willes, and by the advice and deliberation of the gentlemen sent on the behalfe of the Prince and yours. And I have lefte unto them for heade and ruler, followinge therein your pleasure, Capitaine Albert de la Pierria, a souldier of longe experience, and the firste that from the begynnynge offred to tary; and further, by their advise, choice, and will, inscaled and fortified them in an iland on the northe side thereof, a place of stronge scituation and commodious, upon a river which wee named Chenonceau, and the habitation and fortres, Charles Forte. After wee had instructed and duly admonished them of what they should doe (as well for their manner of procedinge, as for the goode and lovinge behaviour of them), the xjth. day of the moneth of June last paste wee departed from Porte Royall, &c.

Nowe, to leave the Spaniardes and Frenche and to come to ourselves; seinge it hath pleased Almightye God at this instant to reveale unto her Majestie and the realme that once againe afreshe which was in part discovered by Sebastian Gabote and other this lande to her moste famous grandfather, Kinge Henry the Seaventh, was then lefte of and caste aside and not sufficiently regarded by occasion of the warres of Scotland, as Sebastian himself writes, and so hath bene intermitted for the space of aboute Kinge Henry foure score and sixe yeares—if nowe the Queene, her Counsell, and other subjectes, shall never so little delaye the throughe managinge of the cause and enteringe effectually into the action, let them assure themselves that they will come to late, and a day after the faire; ffor as the wise man saieth, *Post est occasio calva*. For, to speake nothinge of the laste yeres preparation of the Marques de la Roche to inhabite and plante in those partes nowe discovered by oure men, which preparation was luckely overthrowne in respecte of us, by reason that his greatest shippe was cast away upon the trauers of Burwage, the men of St. John de Luze sente the laste yere to soliicite the Frenche Kinge and his Counsell to plante there. And nowe our neighbours, the men of St. Maloe in Brytaine, in the begynnynge of Auguste laste paste of this yere 1584. are come home with five shippes from

The cause  
why these  
discoveries  
went not  
forward in  
Kinge Henry  
the Seaventh  
tyme.

Canada and the contries upp the Bay of St. Lawrence, and have brought twoo of the people of the contrie home, and have founde suche swete in that newe trade that they are preparinge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte, as one John de la Marche and Mr. Pryhouse of Garnesey affirme; which Mr. Pryhouse, beinge yet in London, was at St. Malowe within these weekes, and sawe the twoo savages, the five shippes, and the riche comodities, and understoode of the greate preparation, and lieth nowe at London, in Philpott lane, at the stone house there.

And that it may be knowne that not onely the Frenche affecte this enterprise, but even the Duche longe since thoughte of yt, I can assure you that Abraham Ortelius, the great geographer, told me, at his laste beinge in England, 1577. that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Contries had meant to have discovered those partes of America, and the north west straite, before this tyme. And yt semed that the chefe cause of his comynge to England was to no other ende, but to pryve and looke into the secretes of Ffrobishers voyadge; for yt was even then, when Ffrobisher was preparinge for his first returne into the north west.

To conclude: yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge (and where our men have nowe presently discovered, and founde it to be the best parte of America that is lefte, and in truthe more agreeable to our natures, and more nere unto us, than Nova Hispania), the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons, or the Duche, or some other nation, will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already, thoughte wee had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them,\* but also will deprive us of that goodd lande which nowe wee have discovered. Which if they doe (as God defende they shoulde), then it falleth oute that wee shall have our enemyes or doubtfull frendes rounde aboute us, and shall not onely loose a singuler comoditie and inestymable benefite, but also incurr greate daunger and inconvenience in sufferinge Papistes, by plantinge rounde aboute us, to take from us all succours, and to lett them enriche themselves under our noses, to be better able to supplant or overronne us.

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\* This is not the case.

## Cap. XVI.

Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe, and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour.

EUery newe enterprise is in the begynnyng burdenous, chardgeable, and heaue, and moste comonly hath many greate enemies ; which is the cause that many goodd men, much affected to their contrie in wittie excellent enterprises, sincke and fainte under their burden. And because that this enterprise which wee have in hande or in purpose (besides that it is much maliced, specially by our mightie faction of the Papistes), is an enterprise that requireth, beside the favour of the Prince, no small chardge therefore wee are to devise howe the burden may leste tyme reste on the backe of the bearer of the same, that he sincke not under the same, but that he maye stande upp in full strengthe, and goe throughe with ease, fame, and profit, withoute shame of all the bymedlers and fauters of the same. And entred into consideration hereof, this cometh to mynde: that the firste chardge of the navye to be admitted as for the present deade chardge for the tyme, howe supply of the chardges followinge may be mayneteyned and borne; for in that standeth one greate matter that ymporteth honour, credite, profite, and the whole sequele of the enterprise.

Wee are induced by late plaine examples of the Frenche, that have traficqued in those partes with greate profite, to beleve that upon our plantinge wee shall as yt were defraye as well the firste chardges as the chardges followinge, by the comodities in trafficque that wee shall receave by passinge into the inland by river and otherwise. But admittinge the worse, that the people will neither receave our comodities nor yelde us theirs againe, then wee are to devise of ourselves howe wee may otherwise at the firste countervaille our chardges, and become greate gayners, will or nill the naturall inhabitantes of those regions or others ; and that is, by enjoyng certaine naturall comodities of the landes infinitely aboundinge, in no accompts with them and with us of greate price, which is this way to be broughte aboute.

The soiles there upon the seacoaste, and all alonge the tracte of the greate broade mightie ryvers, all alonge many hundreth miles into the inland, are infinitely full fraughte with swete wooddes of flyrr, cedars, cypres, and with divers other kindes of

Sawe milles. goodly trees ; and settinge upp mylles to sawe the  
 suche as be common in Poland and in all the nor  
 easte regions, wee may with spede possesse infinite masses  
 boordes of these swete kindes, and these frame and make rea  
 to be turned into goodly chestes, cupboordes, stooles, table  
 desks, &c., upon the returne. And consideringe the prese  
 wante of tymber in the realme, aad howe derely the cip  
 chestes are solde that come from the ilandes of the Levant sea  
 and lately from the Azores, to Bristoll and the westerne haven  
 these may be bothe amply and derely vented in all the portes  
 the realme and of the realmes adjoyninge, consideringe that  
 this age every man desireth to fill his house with all manner  
 goodd furniture. So that were there no other peculiar comoditie  
 this onely, I say, were ynoughe to defraye all the chardges of  
 the begynnyng of the enterprize, and that oute of hande ; t  
 suche mylwrightes may easely be procured from suche place  
 where they abounde, and some suche (possible) be in England  
 for I have herde of a frende of myne, that one suche mill with  
 these xxx<sup>ti</sup>. yeres was sett upp in Worcestshire by a knyghte  
 that contrie. And one man onely were able to directe  
 thousande of our common milwrightes in that trade ; and ca  
 pinters and joyners, the realme may spare thousandes for a neede

And with like ease and shortenes of time wee may make  
 the woodes there pitch and tarr, which are thinges fitt for c  
 navie, and marchandizes of goodd vente and of comon neede.

And with like ease wee may make of the wooddes there plen  
 of sope asshes, a comoditie very dere and of greate and am  
 vente with us, and elsewhere in forren kingdomes of Europ  
 Also wee may there prepare for pikes, chasinge staves, oar  
 halberts, and the like for cullen cleftes for sundry uses, &  
 And also wee may there, withoute payeng for the same, ha  
 tymber to builde greate navies, and may bringe them into t  
 realme, and have goodd sale of the same.

All this, I say, may be broughte to passe if wee wisely plan  
 upon our arryvall, aboute the mouthes of greate rivers and in  
 ilandes of the same ; and so wee shall have the starte before  
 Frenche and all others ; and our people, sente thither for  
 purposes afore[said], shall be ready to man our shippes to g  
 repulse at the firste to all suche as shall come thither to sett fo  
 to our annoye.

Thus all thinges removed that mighte bringe discouragemen



the firste that tooke the enterprise in hande have wonne greate honour and highe estymation with all degrees in England, and, havinge by these former meanes wonne to defraye all the chardges of the brunte of thenterprise, they stande full able to followe the same withoute cravinge aide of the lingringe marchaunte, and have the possibilitie onely to themselves of the trades of traficque with the people, which they may bringe aboute eyther with curtesie, or by pollicie and force, as by joyninge now with this petite kinge, and nowe with that, &c.

And this once plainely founde and noted in England, what noble man, what gentleman, what marchante, what citezen or contryman, will not offer of himselfe to contribute and joyne in the action, forseeinge that the same tendeth to the ample vent of our clothes, to the purchasing of riche comodities, to the plantinge of younger brethren, to the employment of our idle people, and to so many noble endes? And greate joyninge in contribution upon so happy begynnynge geveith abilitie to fortifie, to defende all forren force in divers comodious places even at the firste.

### Cap. XVII.

That by these colonies the north west passage to Cathaio and China may easely, quickly, and perfectly be searched oute as well by river and overlande as by sea ; for prooffe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare testymonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius, and other grave authors.

IN the thirde volume of Nauigations and Voyadges, gathered and translated into Italian by Mr. John Baptista Ramusius, fol. 417. pag. 2, I reade of John Verarsanus as followeth: This unhappy ende had this valiaunte gentleman, whoe, if this misfortune had not appened unto him (with the singuler knowledge that he had in sea matters and in the arte of navigation, beinge also favoured with the greate liberalitie of Kinge Fraunces), woulde have discovered and opened unto the worlde that parte also of lande even to the poole. Neither woulde he have contented himselfe with the uteside and sea coaste onely, but woulde have passed further upp within the lande so farr as he coulde have gon. And many that have knowen him and talked

with him have told me, that he saied he had in mynde to perswade the Frenche Kinge to sende oute of Fraunce a goodd number of people to inhabite certaine places of the said coaste, which be of ayre temperate, and of soile moste fertile, with very faire ryvers, and havens able to receave any navie. The inhabitants of which places mighte be occasion to bringe to passe many goodd effectes: and, amongst other, to reduce those poore, rude, and ignoraunte people to the knowledge of God and true religion, and to shewe them the manner of husbandrie for the grounde, transportinge of the beastes of Europe into those excedinge large and champion contries; and in time mighte discover the partes within lande, and see if, amongst so many ilandes there be any passage to the Southe Sea, or whither the firme lande of Fflorida contynewe still even to the pole.

Upon occasion of these laste wordes I thinke it not amisse to alleage those testimonies tendinge to the proove of this longe desired north west passage, which, with no small care these many yeres, I have observed in my readings and conferences concerninge the same matter.

1. My firste authoritie is in the seconde volume of Ramusius, in the discourse of the discoverie of the ilandes Freseland, Island, Engroneland, Drogeo, and Icaria, made in the northe by Sir Nicholas Zeny, Knighte, and Mr. Anthony, his brother, in the yere 1380.\* In which discourse, amonge many other thinges tendinge to the proove of this passage, I finde this recorded: Scoprirono vna isola detta Estotilanda posta in ponente lontana da Frislanda piu di mille miglia; whereof I gather, that whereas still he calieth Estotiland an Ilande, and that it is distant westwarde from Frislande more then a thousande miles, that the sea is open above five hundreth niles further then Frobisher and his companie discouered. Ffor he himself confesseth that he never sailed paste five or sixe hundreth miles to the weste of Ffriselande; and here is mention made, that those fishermen that discouered the iland of Estotiland founde it to be more then a M. miles to the weste of the same.

2. The seconde testimonie to prove this north west passage is in the preface of the aforesaide Ramusius before his thirde volume, where he alleageth, in manner followinge, that which

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\* See the translation of Zeno's *Voyages*, printed by the Hakluyt Society, and edited by Major.

Sebastian Gabote wrote unto him concerninge this matter : Many yeres paste I was written unto by Sebastian Gabote, our contryman, a Venecian, and a man of greate experience, and very singular in the arte of navigation and in the knowledge of cosmographie, whoe sailed alonge and beyonde Nova Francia, at the chardges of Kinge Henry the seaventh, Kinge of England ; and he signified unto me, that havinge sailed a longe tyme west and by northe beyonde those ilandes unto the latitude of 67. degrees and [an half] under the north pole, on the xj<sup>th</sup> day of June, and findinge the sea open and withoute any manner of ympedymente, he thoughte verely that he mighte have passed by that way unto Cathaia, which is in the Easte ; and he woulde have done yt, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and unruly mariners had not inforced him to returne homewardes from that place. But it semeth (saith Ramusius), that God doth yet reserve to some greate prince the discoverie of this voyadge to Cathaio by this way, which, for the bringinge of the spicerie from India into Europe, woulde be the moste easie and shortest of all others hitherto founde oute. And surely this enterprize woulde be the moste glorious and of moste importaunce of all other that any coulde ymagine, to make their name moche more eternall and ymmortale amonge all ages to come, then these so greate tumultes and troubles of warres, which are to be seene contynually in Europe amonge the miserable and unhappy Christians.

3. Thirdly, the reporte which the people of Hochelaga made to Jacques Cartier, in the xiiijth. chapter of his seconde relation, of the river three monethes navigable to the southewarde, dothe not a little confirme the same.

4. Fourthly, the relation of the people of Canada in the xijth. chapiter, followinge on this manner : Moreover they tolde us, and gave us to understande, that there are people cladde with clothe as wee are, and that there are many inhabited townes and goodd people, and that they have greate store of golde and redd copper, and that upp into the lande, beyonde the river firste above mentioned, even to Hochelaga and Saguinay, there is an ile environed aboute with that and other rivers, which beyonde Saguenay entereth into twoo or three greate lakes ; also that there is founde a sea of freshe water, the heade and ende whereof there was never man founde that had throughly searched, as farr as they have hearde say of them of Saguenay, for they (as they signified unto us) had not bene there themselves.

5. Fyftly, in the ende of that seconde relation this postscript is added as a speciall pointe, to witt : that they of Canada that it is the space of a moone (that is to saye a moneth) to come to a lande where cynamon and cloves are gathered ; and in the Frenche originall which I sawe in the Kinges Library at Paris in the Abbay of St. Martines,\* yt is further put downe, that Don Alonso conna, the Kinge of Canada, in his barke had traveled to that contrie where cynamon and cloves are had ; yea, the natives whereby the savages call those twoo spices in their owne language are there put downe in writinge.

6. Sixtly, this passage is likewise proved by the double report of Vasques de Coronado. For firste, he beinge at Ceuola, which standeth in 37. degrees and an halfe of northerly latitude within the lande, he had this informacion of the people of that place, *Fanno otto giornate verso le campagne al mare di settentrione*, whereby I gather that some parte of the northerne sea ys within viij. daies journey of Ceuola. Againe, when he was afterwards at the towne of Quiuira, which is scituated by the sea side in the latitude of 40. degrees, he founde there shippes with marynes which had the picture of a birde, called Alcatrazzi, in silver upon their bonnetts and on the forepartes of their shippes ; which signified that they were thirtie daies sailinge to that place whence it is saied that they muste nedes be of Cathaio or China, seinge that there is none but Spanishe shippinge upon all the coaste of the backside of Noua Spania.

9. Seavently, the people of Florida, at the River of May, 30. degrees, signified to John Ribault and his company, that they mighte saile in boates from thence through the contrie to the ryver to Ceuola in xx. daies. These are the wordes, viz. : *wee nowe demaunded of them concerninge the towne of Ceuola (whereof some have written that it is not farr from thence, and it is scituated within the lande, and towards the sea called Mar del Sur), they shewed vs by signes, which wee understoode well ynoughe, that they mighte goe thither with their boates, by river in xx<sup>th</sup>. daies.*

8. Eightly, Don Antonio di Castillo, embassador to the Majestie from Henry the Kinge of Portingale, tolde me here in London, the yere before his departure, that one Anus Cortes, Capitaine of the Ile of Tercera, in the yere 1574. sente a ship

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\* See Introductory note.

to discover the northwest passage, which, arryvinge on the coaste of America in 57. degrees of latitude, founde a greate entraunce very depe and broade, withoute impedimente of ise, into which they passed above xx<sup>ii</sup>. leagues, and founde it alwayes to tende towards the southe. The lande lay lowe and plaine on either side. They woulde have gon further, but their victualls drawinge shorte, and beinge but one shippe, they returned backe, with hope at another tyme to make a full searche of the passage, whereof they sawe not small likelyhoode.

9. Nynthly, Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale,\* shewed me in Paris this present somer, a greate olde rounde carde (out of which Postellus tooke the forme of his mappe), that had the northwest strait plainely sett downe in the latitude of 57. degrees.

10. Tenthly, there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchemente, made, as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsanus, traced all alonge the coaste from Florida to Cape Briton, with many Italian names, which laieth oute the sea, making a little necke of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much lyke the streyte necke or istmus of Dariena. This mappe is nowe in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke.

11. Eleventhly, there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallory at Westminster, which also semeth to be of Verarsanus makinge, havinge the coaste described in Italian, which laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees, with the sea joynninge harde on bothe sides, as it dothe on Panama and Nombre di Dios; which were a matter of singuler importaunce, yf it shoulde be true, as it is not unlikely.

12. Twelvethly, the judgements of Gerardus Mercator, that excellent geographer, which his sonne, Rumolde Mercator, shewed me in a letter of his, and drewe oute for me in writinge, of wise men is not lightly to be regarded. These were his wordes: *Magna tametsi pauca de noua nauigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est quin recta et brevis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium vsque. In quod regnum, si recte nauigationem instituant, nobilissimas totius mundi merces colligent, et multis gentibus adhuc idololatri Christi nomen communicabunt.* You

\*The illegitimate son of the Infant Don Luiz and Violante Gomes. Consult Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ix.

write (saieth he to his sonne) greate matters, thoughte very b of the newe voyadge, whereat I wonder that it was not many yeres heretofore attempted ; ffor there is no doubt there is a streighte and shorte waye open into the west, ev Cathaio. Into which kingdome, if they governe their voy well, they shall gather the moste noble marchandize of a worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to be knowne many idolaters and heathen people.

13. Hereunto agreeth the relation of Monsieur de Le honest gent of Morleux, in Britaine, which tolde me this story in the presence of divers Englishe men at Paris, that a man St. Malowe this laste yere discovered the sea on the back of Hochelaga.

14. Moreover, the relation of David Ingram confirme the same ; for, as he avowcheth and hath put it downe in writing he traveled twoo daies in the sighte of the North Sea.

15. Againe, the prohibition which Kinge Philippe hath decreed, that none of his pilotts shall discover to the northe wardes degrees, may seme chiefly to procede of these two causes : one, leaste passinge further to the northe, they mighte fall upon the open passage from Mare del Sur into our Northerne Sea ; the other, because they have not people ynoughe to possess the same, kepe the same, but rather in tyme shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that waye.

16. Lastly, I will ende with the earnest petition and conclusion of Ramusius, in his firste volume, fol. 374. speakinge of the severall waies by which the spicery, both olde and of late yeres, hath bene broughte into Europe, he maketh these speaches in the person of another : Why doe not the people (saieth he), which are to deale in these affaires, sende out twoo or three colonies to inhabite the contrie, and to reduce the savage nation to more civilitie, consideringe what a battaine frutefull soile it is, how replenished with all kinde of graine, how it is stored with all kinde of birdes and beastes, with such rivers and mightie rivers, that Capitaine Cartier and his companye one of them sailed upp an C. and xx<sup>iiij</sup> leagues, findinge the contrie peopled on bothe sides in greate abundance of commodities ; moreover, to cause the gouvernours of those colonies to sende furthe men to discover the northe landes aboute Terra Labrador, and west north west towards the seas, which maye saile to the contrie of Cathaio, and from thence to the ilands

Molucka. These are enterprises to purchase ymmortal praise, which the Lord Antony de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, willinge to put in execution, sente furthe his capitaines, bothe by sea and lande, upon the northwest of Noua Spania, and discovered the kingdomes of the seaven cities aboute Ceuola; and Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passed from Mexico by lande towards the northwest 2850. miles, in so moche as he came to the sea which lieth betwene Cathaio and America, where he mett with the Cathaian shippes; and, no doubt, if the Frenche men, in this their Nova Francia, woulde have discovered upp further into the lande towards the west northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio.

Thus farr Ramusius.

God, which doth all thinges in his due time, and hath in his hande the hartes of all Princes, stirr upp the mynde of her Majestie at lengthe to assiste her moste willinge and forwarde subjectes to the perfourmance of this moste godly and profitable action; which was begonne at the chardges of Kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. her grandfather, followed by Kinge Henry the Eighte, her father, and lefte, as it semeth, to be accomplished by her (as the three yeres golden voyadge to Ophir was by Salomon), to the makinge of her realme and subjectes moste happy, and her selle moste famous to all posteritie. Amen.

#### Cap. XVIII.

That the Queene of Englandes title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes.

TO confute the generall claime and unlawfull title of the insatiable Spaniardes to all the West Indies, and to prove the justenes of her Majesties title and of her noble progenitours, if not to all, yet at leaste to that parte of America which is from Florida beyonde the Circle articke, wee are to sett downe in true order, accordinge to the juste observation of tyme, when the West Indydes, with the ilandes and continent of the same, were firste discouered and inhabited, and by what nation, and by whome. Then are wee to answer in generall and particularly to the moste injurious and unreasonable donation graunted by Pope

Alexander the Sixte, a Spaniarde borne, of all the West Indies the Kinges of Spaine and their successors, to the greate prejudice of all other Christian Princes, but especially to the damage of the Kinges of England.

Ffor the firste pointe, wee of England have to shewe verie auncient and auctenticall chronicles, written in the Welshe or Britthishe tongue, wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owain Guyneth, a Prince of North Wales, beinge wearye of the civill warres and domesticall dissentions in his contrie, made two voyages oute of Wales, and discovered and planted large countreies which he founde in the mayne ocean south westwarde to Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170.\* This historie is also to be seene in Englishe in printe, in the booke sett furthe this yere of the Prince of Wales, dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney. And this is confirmed by the language of some of those people that dwell upon the continent betwene the Bay of Mexico and the Grande Bay of Newfoundelande, whose language is said to agree with the Welshe in divers wordes and names of places, by the experience of some of our nation that have bene in those partes. By this testimonie it appereth, that the West Indies were discovered and inhabited 322. yeres before Columbus made his firste voyage, which was in the yere 1492.

Secondly, the acceptation of Columbus his offer of the West Indies by Kinge Henry the Seaventh, at the very firste, maketh much moche for the title of the Kinges of England, althoughe they had no former interest; which I will here putt downe as I finde it in the eleventh chapter of the historie of Ferdinandus Columbus in the relation of the life and doinges of his father: This practiser saith he, of the Kinge of Portingale (which was secretly to deprive him of the honour of his enterprize), beinge come to the knowledge of the Admyrall, and havinge lately buried his wife, he conceived so greate hatred againste the citie of Lysbone and the nation, that he determynd to goe into Castile with a young sonne that he had by his wife, called Diego Colon, which after his fathers deathe succeded in his state. But fearinge, yf the Kinges of Castile also shoulde not consente unto his enterprize, he shoulde be constrained to begynne againe to make some newe offer of the same to some other Prince, and so longe tyme shoulde be spent therein, he sente into England a brother of his

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\* See Vol. i.



which he had with him, named Bartholmewe Columbus. Nowe Bartholmewe Columbus beinge departed for England, his fortune was to fall into the handes of pyrates, which robbed him, and his other companions that were in his shippe, of all that they had. By which occasion and meanes of his povertie and sicknes, which cruelly afflicted him in a strange contrie, he deferred for a longe space his embassage, till, havinge gotten upp a little money by makinge of seacardes, he began to practize with Kinge Henry the Seaventhe, the father of Kinge Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> which nowe reigneth; to whome he presented a general carde, wherein these verses were written, which I will rather here put downe for their antiquitie then for their elegancie :

Terrarum quicunque cupis feliciter oras  
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit  
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius atque  
Isidorus : non vna tamen sententia cuique.  
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis  
Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti,  
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

And somewhat more beneath he saied :

*Pro authore sive pictore.*

Janua cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus  
Columbus, de terra rubra, opus edidit istud  
Londonijs, Anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno  
Octauo, decimâque die cùm tertia mensis  
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.\*

But to returne to the Kinge of England; I say that after he had sene the generall carde, and that which the Admyrall Columbus offred unto him, he accepted his offer with a cherefull countenance, and sente to call him into England. These thinges beinge so, wee nede not to be our owne judges, but are able to prove, as you see, by a forren testimonie of singuler greate authoritie, that Christopher Columbus, beinge in Portingale, before he wente into Castile, sente his brother Bartholmewe into England to practise with Kinge Henry the Seaventh aboute the discovery of the West Indies, and that his said brother made his generall seacarde of this secrete voyadge in London, in the yere of our Lorde 1488. the xij<sup>th</sup>. of February, above foure yere, before Christopher was sett oute upon his firste voyadge by the Princes of Spaine, Ferdinando and Isabella, which was the thirde

\* See Lamartine's "Columbus" in my *Bibliotheca Curiosa*.

of Auguste, 1592. It appereth also, that the onely cause of slowe dispatche was his fallinge into the handes of pirates which spoiled him and his companie of all that they had whereby he was inforced a longe tyme to worke in London makinge instrumentes and seacardes to get somewhat aboute that he mighte come in some honest furniture to the Kings presence. Also, that there was no delaye nor wante of the will of the Kinges parte to sett furthe the action, whoe would have condescended to all Columbus demaundes; as is further to be seene in the 60 chapiter of the same historie, where I read that Bartholmewe Columbus, havinge agreed with the King of England upon all capitulations, and returninge into Spaine from Fraunce to fetch his brother, when he hearde newes at London that he had concluded in the meane season with the King of Spaine, and was entred into the action for him, was not a little vexed for his brothers abusinge the Kinge of England, which he so curteously graunted all his requestes and accepted of his service. But Christofer, not receavinge so spedy aunswer as he hoped for from his brother oute of England, by reason of his fallinge into the handes of pirates, as is aforesaide, and not by reason of any slackness or unwillingnes of the Kinge, in the meane season, for feare of beinge prevented by the Portingales, which once before in some other manner had gon aboute to take the honour of the action out of his handes, was stirred, contrary to honesty, to play on the Kinges handes, and to deal with the Princes of Spaine before he had receaved the Kinge of Englandes resolucion.

But leavinge this abuse offered to the Kinge of England by Christopher Columbus or the Kinges of Spaine, in that that enterprise oute of his handes which was first sente to him and never refused by him, and to put the case that Columbus firste discovered parte of the ilandes of Hispaniola and the rest yet wee will prove most plainly that a very greate and rich parte, as well of the continent as of the ilandes, were first discovered for the Kinge of England by Sebastian Gaboto an Englishe man, borne in Bristoll, the sonne of John Gaboto a Venesian, in the yere of our Lorde 1496; as an Italian geographer, a greate philosopher and mathematician, witnesseth, which was the same of his owne mouthe; and there were many other things followinge, which wente with him in that voyadge, which could have proved him a liar yf it had bene otherwise. These be the very wordes of this gent, which he uttered to certen noblemen

Venice upon the disputation concerninge the voyadges of the spicerye : Know ye not (quoth he) to this effecte, to goe to finde the Easte Indies by the north west, that which one of your citie hath done, which is so skilfull in the arte of navigacion and cosmographie, that he hath not his like in Spaine at this day ? And his sufficiencie hath so greatly advaunced him, that the Kinge hath given him the oversighte of all the pilotts that saile to the West Indies, so that withoute his licence they cannot meddle in this arte, by reason whereof they call him the Graund Pilott. This was Segnior Sebastian Gabote, which I wente to see, beinge myselfe in Cyvill certen yeres paste, whome I founde to be a moste curteous and gentle person. After he had made very moche of me, and geven me good entertainment, he shewed me many singularities which he had ; and amonge the rest, a greate mappe of the worlde, wherein were marked and described all the particuler navigations as well of the Portingales as of the Castilians. And he declared unto me, that, his father beinge departed from Venyce, he wente to dwell in England for trade of marchandize, and caried him with him to the citie of London, thoughe he were very younge ; yet for all that not so younge but that he had studied [letters] of humanitie aud the sphere ; moreover, that his father died aboute the tyme that the newes came that Christopher Colon had discovered the coaste of the West Indies, and there was no other talke but of that in the Courte of Kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. which reigned then in England. Whereof every man saied, that yt was rather a thinge devine then humaine, to have founde out that way never knowen before, to goe by the west into the easte. This brute of Segnior Columbus did so inflame my harte, that I determyned also to doe some notable thinge. And knowinge by the reason of the sphere, that, in directinge my course righte towarde the north weste, I shoulde shorten the way greatly to goe to the Easte Indies, without delaye I gave the Kinges Majestie to understande of myne opinion, which was marveylously well pleased ; and he furnished me of two shippes, with all thinges necessarie ; and this was in the yere 1496. in the begynnyng of somer. And I began to saile towards the north west, thinckinge to finde no lande savinge that where Cathaio is, and from thence to turne towards the Indies. But after certaine daies, I discouered lande which ronnethe towards the northe, wherewithall I was exceedingly agrieved ; notwithstandinge I ceased not to ronne alonge that

coaste towardes the northe, to see yf I coulde finde a  
which turned towardes the north weste, until I came  
heighte of 56. degrees of our pole. Beinge there, I sa  
the coaste turned towarde the easte, and, beinge oute of  
finde any straite, I turned backe againe to searche out  
coaste towarde the equinoctiall, with intention alwayes  
some passage to the Indies; and in followinge this coaste

The reason  
why the dis-  
covery was  
lefte of in  
Kinge Henry  
the Seav-  
enth's tyme.

as farr as that parte which at this present t  
Florida; and nowe my victuals failinge and  
shorte, I sailed no further, but lefte the coast  
and sailed into England, where I was no  
arryved but I founde greate troubles of the  
that were upp in armes by reason of the wa  
Scotland; whereby the voyadge to those partes was laic  
for that time, and had in no further consideration.

Upon this relation, Monsieur Popiliniere, being a Fren  
in his seconde booke, *Des Trois Mondes*, inferreth  
speeches: This, then, was that Gabote which firste dis  
Florida for the Kinge of England, so that the English  
have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf to hav  
unto a contrie, it sufficeth to have firste seene and discover  
same.

Howbeit, Gabota did more then see the contrie, for h  
on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same  
inge to his patente, which was graunted to his fathe  
Gabot, to Lewes, himself, and Sancius, his brethren, be  
be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe: and, moreo  
broughte home three of the savages of the Indies, as Fa  
his ancient Chronicle, dothe write, declaringe their a  
feedinge, and other manners, which, he saith, he o  
himselfe in the Courte at Westminster, where he sawe  
them, two yeres after they were broughte into Engla  
Englishe apparell. Nay, that which is more, Gabota dis  
this longe tracte of the firme lande twoo yeres before Co  
ever sawe any parte of the continente thereof. For th  
parte of the firme land, called Paria, and Bocca di Dragon  
is to say, the Dragons Mouthe, beinge to the southe of th  
of Hispaniola, was discovered by him in his thirde vo  
which, as Peter Martir de Angleria, which was one of the c  
of the West Indies, wryteth, was in the yere 1498; which  
firmed by Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne, whi



with his father in the voyage (as Oviedo confesseth, libr. 19. cap. 1.), and wrote a journall of that voyage, shewing, in the 67. chapter of his historie, that his father firste sawe the firme lande the firste of Auguste in the yere 1498. But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496. as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe, which is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the cople whereof was sett oute by Mr. Clemente Adams, and is in many marchantes houses in London. In which mappe, in the chapter of Newfoundelande, there in Latyn is put downe, besides the yere of our Lorde, <sup>N f land</sup> discoverd, even the very day, which was the day of St. John Baptiste; and the firste lande which they sawe they called Prima Visa or Prima Vista: and Mr. Roberte Thorne, in his discourse to Doctor Ley, Kinge Henry the Eightes ambassador to Charles the Emperour, affirmeth that his father and one Hughe Elliott, of Bristol, were the firste persons that descried the lande. This case is so clere that the Spaniardes themselves, though full sore againste their willes, are constrained to yelde unto us therein. For Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in the 4. chapter of his seconde booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, confesseth that Sebastian was the firste discoverer of all the coaste of the West Indies, from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to the heighte of 38. degrees towards the equinoctiall. He whiche broughte moste certeine newes of the contrie and people of Baccalaos, saith Gomera, was Sebastian Gabot, a Venesian, which rigged up ij. shippes at the coste of Kinge Henry the Seaventh of England, havinge greate desire to traficque for the spices as the Portingales did. He carried with him CCC. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyonde the Cape of Labrador, untill he founde himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that, in the moneth of July, it was so colde and the ise so greate, that he durste not passe any further; that the daies were very longe, in a manner withoute any nighte, and for that shorte nighte that they had it was very clere. Gabot, feelinge the colde, turned towards the west, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos; and afterwarde he sailed alonge the coaste unto 38 degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

Moreover, this Fraunces Lopez de Gomera acknowledgeth, in his firste booke and xxjth. chapter of the Generall Historie of the

Indies, that Columbus on his thirde voyadge, sett oute fr  
Lucar of Barameda, in Spaine, in the ende of May, ann  
In which thirde voyadge, at lengthe, after any greate dan  
the way, he arryved in the firme lande of the Indies, tow  
province called Paria, which all the Spanishe authors con  
have bene the firste of the continent that was discovered  
Kinges of Spaine.

So to conclude; whether wee beleve the testimonie  
Martir and Ferdinandus Columbus, which affirme that Chri  
Columbus discovered the firme firste *in anno* 1498. a gre  
large tracte of the continente of the Indies was discov  
Gabote and the Englishe above twoo yeres before, to witt  
yere 1496, in the moneths of June and July; or whether  
contente to yelde to Gomera, which saith Columbus set  
of the discovery of the firme lande, 1497; yet wee of  
are the firste discoverers of the continent above a yere an  
before them, to witt, 1496. or, as Clement Adams saith, in  
the chapiter of Gabbotts mapp *De terra nova*, which  
three yeres before the Spaniarde, or any other for the Ki  
Spaine, had any sighte of any parte of the firme land  
Indies. At leaste wise, by Gomera his owne confessio  
57. degrees of northerly latitude to 38. towards the equi  
we have beste righte and title of any Christian. As  
discovery of John Ponce de Leon, beinge *in anno* 1  
cannot be prejudiciall to our title, as beinge made sixteen  
after Gabotes voyadge.

#### Cap. XIX.

An aunswer to the Bull of the Donation of all the Wes  
graunted to the Kinges of Spaines by Pope Alexan  
VIth, whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

WHereas Fraunces Lopez de Gomera, in the 19. ch  
his firste booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies,  
downe that Pope Alexander the VIth, of his proper wi  
his owne mere motion, with the consente of his Cardinals  
his free grace to the Kinges of Spaine all the iles and firm  
which they shoulde discover towards the west, and ther  
alledged the Bull itselfe; I aunswer, that no Pope h  
lawfull auctoritie to give any such donation at all. Fo

hereof, I say that, if he were no more than Christes vycar, as Iomera calleth him in that place, then he must needes graunte that the vicar is no greater then his Master. Nowe, our Saviour Christe, beinge requested and entreated to make a lawfull deuision of inheritaunce betwene one and his brother, refused to do yt, sayenge, Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos? Whoe made me a judge betwene you? What meaneth, then, the Pope, not beinge spoken to nor entreated, of his owne proper will and of his owne mere motion, to meddle in those matters that Christe in no wise, no, not beinge thereunto instantly requested, woulde not have to deale in? Againe, oure Saviour Christe confessed openly to Pilate, that his kingdome was not of this worlde. Why, then, doth the Pope, that woulde be Christes servaunte, take upon him the deuision of so many kingdomes of the worlde? If he had but remembred that which he hath inserted in the ende of his owne Bull, to witt, that God is the disposer and distributer of kingdomes and empires, he woulde never have taken upon him the devidinge of them with his line of partition from one ende of the heavens to the other. The historie of the poore boye whome God stirred upp to confounde and deride the Spaniardes and Portingales, when they were devidinge the worlde betwene themselves alone, is so well knowne as I nede not stand to repeate it. But it is the Popes manner alwayes to meddle, as in this matter, so in other thinges, where they have nothinge to doe, and to intrude themselves before they be called. They mighte rather call to mynde the counsell of the goodd apostle, who tolde godly Tymothe, the Bisshoppe of Ephesus, that no man that warreth intangleth himself with the affaires of this presente life, because he woulde please Him that hath chosen him to be a souldier; and then they woulde learne to kepe themselves within the lymites of that vocation and ecclesiasticall function whereunto they are called; which ecclesiasticall function hath nothinge to doe with absolute donation and devidinge of mere temporalties and earthly kingdomes. St. Chrisostome, in his dialogue De dignitate sacerdotali, saieth that the mynisterie is a chardge geuen by God to teache withoute armes or force, and that the same is no power to give or to take kingdomes, nor to make lawes for the publique governemente. St. Hillary writes as moche to the Emperour Constantine againste Auxentius, Bisshoppe of Milan. Our Saviour Christe himselfe saieth to his disciples, that while they were in the worlde, they shoulde be broughte before

kinges and polittique magistrates for his names sake. So then they shoulde not be judges and magistrates themselves, especially in the devisions of kingdomes ; and, to leave all spituall men an example, he paid tribute and toll for himselfe and Peter, and submitted himselfe and his apostles under the civill magistrate and polittique governemente ; yet the Pope, whoe saieth that he is Peters successor, will be a disposer of civill causes and temporall domynions. The apostle saieth, Romaines the 13: Let every soule be submitted unto the higher powers. Nowe, if the Popes will not beleve the worde of God withoute the exposition of the Fathers of the Church, at leaste let them belve St. Chrisostome, and give eare to that which he hath written upon this place: That these thinges be comaunded to all men, saieth he, bothe to prestes and monckes, and not onely to secular or laymen, the Apostle declareth, even in the very begynnyng, when he saieth in this manner: Let every soule be subjecte unto their higher powers, though thou were an apostle, though thou were an evangeliste, though thou were a prophet, or though thou were any other whatsoever. For obedience dothe nothinge hinder godlines.

But the Popes woulde prove that they may give and bestowe kingdomes upcn whome they please, by Samuels example that annoynted Hazael Kinge of Siria insteade of Benhadad, and Jehu Kinge of Israell insteade of Jehoram ; as, also, by the example of Jehoadah, the highe preste, that put the Queene Athalia to deathe, and placed Joas, the younge sonne of Ochoshias, in the kingdome. All those examples make nothinge at all in the worlde for them ; for neither Samuell, nor Elias, nor Elizeus did any thinge in that matter withoute an expresse commaundement and all circumstances from the mouthe of God himselfe, as appereth moste evidently by their severall histories in the Bible. Samuell also did his comission full sore againste his will ; and Elias and Elizeus, with greate feare of their lyves. As for Athalia, she was an usurper, and had cruelly murdered as many of the lawfull inheritours of the kingdome as she coule possibly lay handes on ; and therefore Jehoiada, the highe preste, not of his owne absolute auctoritie, but by the helpe of the Kinges officers and joyfull consente of all the people, caused her moste justely to be deposed and put to deathe. He was also uncle to the younge alledge, by marriage of his wife, Jehosheba, which was sister to lawfull aunc father of the younge kinge, and therefore bounde, in



conscience and affinitie, to helpe him to his righte and succour him in his mynoritie. Nowe, when the Popes have the like excellent spirite of prophesie, and the like chardges and expresse commaundementes from Gods owne mouthe, in the behalf of some one by name againste some one which God by name woulde have deposed, then they may ymitate them in pronouncinge unto them that God will rente their kingdomes from this or that kinge for his synnes. But none of the Prophetts made bulls or donations in their palaces, under their handes and seales and dates, to bestowe many kingdomes, which they never sawe or knewe, nor what nor howe large they were, or, to say the truthe, whether they were extant *in rerum natura*, as the Pope hath done in gevinge all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine. He shoulde firste have don as the prophetts dyd ; that is, he shoulde firste have gon himselfe and preached the worde of God to those idolatrous kinges and their people ; and then, if they woulde not, by any meanes, have repented, he mighte have pronounced the severe and heaueie judgements of God againste them, shewinge oute of the worde of God that one kingdome is translated from another for the synnes of the inhabitantes of the same, and that God, in his justice, woulde surely bringe some nation or other upon them, to take vengeance of their synnes and wickednes. And thus moche not onely Popes, but also any other godly and zealous bisshope or mynister, may doe, beinge called thereunto by God extraordinarily, or havinge the ordinary warrante of his worde.

Yea, but the Popes can shewe goodd recordes that they have deposed Emperors, that they have translated empires from one people to another, as that of the Easte unto the Germanes, and that they have taken kingdomes from one nation and geuen them to another. In deede, in some respectes, they have done so. But how? They never gave that which was in their actuall possession, yf by any meanes possible they mighte have kepte it themselves. It is an easie matter to cutt large thonges, as wec say, of other men's hides, and to be liberall of other men's goodds. Neither ys it any marvaile thoughe (as Gomera saieth) the Pope gave all the West Indies of his free grace to the Kinge of Spaine, for they never coste him a penye. But he that will be in deede and truthe liberall, he muste give of his owne, and not of other mens. For to take from one that which is his, to give it to another to whom it is not due, ys plaine injurie and no

liberalitie, though the gifte were bestowed upon him that were in nede. For as one saieth: *Eripere alteri fraudulenter quod alteri des misericorditer, iniustitia quidem est et non eleemosyna*—to take from one fraudulently to give to an other mercifully, is no almes nor charitie, but plaine iniquitie. The Pope shoulde rather have sent into the West Indies store of godly pastors of his owne coste freely, then to have geven them and their gooddes wrongfully to be eaten upp and devoured of such insatiable and greedy wolves. He should have remembred the worde of our Saviour, whoe saieth: *Beatius est dare quam accipere*—it is a blessed thinge to give rather then to receive.

The Popes say they gave Ireland to Kinge Henry the Seconde and his successors; and indeede they have don it in wordes. But when gave they that unto him? Forsoothe after he had faste footing in it, and when Dermutus, the King of Leynester, had firste offred to make the Kinge his heire. And for all their donation, yf the Kinge had not by his force more then by their gifte holpe himselfe, the Popes donation had stode him in small stede; neither did the Kinges of Ireland admitt and allowe of the Popes donation. If they had, they woulde never have rebelled so ofte againste the Crowne of England. To conclude this pointe, though wee confesse that the Popes have don this or that, yet yt is no goodd argumente to say that they did it, and therefore it is lawfull, unless they coule shewe that they did it rightfully. *De facto constat, de jure non constat*. And they themselves are driven to confess, that their medlinge on this sorte with kingdomes ys not directly, but indirectly. But suche indirecte dealinge is warranted neither by lawe of God nor men.

Nowe to the donation itselfe, wee are firste to consider, whoe it was that was the author thereof; secondly, unto whome it was made; thirdly, what were the causes and inducements that moved the Pope thereunto; fourthly, the forme and manner of donation; fyftly, the inhibition of all other Christian Princes, and the penaltie of all them that shoulde doe the contrarye; lastly, the recompence of the Kinges of Spaine to the Sea of Rome for so greate a gifte.

1. Touchinge the firste, the author hereof was Pope Alexander the vjth. whoe, as Platina and Onuphrius and Bale doe write, was himselfe a Spaniarde, and borne in Valencia, of the familie called Borgia, and therefore no marvell though he were ledd by parcialitie to favour the Spanishe nation, though yt were to the

prejudice and damage of all others; whiche foule faulte of his may hereby appeare, that havinge in all the tyme of his Popedom created sixe and thirtie Cardinales, of those xxxvj. he made xvij. to witt the one halfe, Spaniardes, as Bale dothe testifie, writinge of his life. Nowe let any man be judge, whether that were extreame prrcialitie and ambition, to make Spaine equal in that pointe with all the rest of Christendome. No marvaile therefore, thoughe as in this, so in his donation, he was beyonde all reason caried away with blynde affection to his nation; which faulte of his had bene more to be borne withall, yf it had bene in a private or small matter. But in this so generall and comon cause, yt cannot choose but be altogether intollerable. If any man liste to see this man painted oute further in his colours, let him reade John Bale in his Eighte Century, where he shall finde so many of his badd partes, as a man woulde thinke he coulde not be a fitt man to make a goodd and uprighte judge in so weightie a matter as this.

2. The persons to whome he made this donation were Ferdinando and Isabella, Princes of Spaine, to whome, and to their heires and successors for ever, he confirmed the same, excludinge all other Christian princes. These princes, thoughe otherwise very vertuous and commendable, yet at the tyme of the makinge of this 'donation, were more unable then divers other Kinges of Christendome to accomlishe and bringe the same to effecte, as beinge greatly ympoverished with the warres of Granadae, so farr furthe that they were constrained to seke for helpe of Kinge Henry the VIIth. of England, to subdue the Moores in their owne contrie. Yea, Queene Isabella was so poore and bare that she was faine to offer her owne jewells to gage, to borowe money to sett furthe Columbus in his firste voyadge, as it is to be seene in the 14. chapter of the Historie of Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne. It is also well knowen that the Spaniardes, for wante of people of their owne contrie, have not bene able nowe, in the space of xx<sup>iii</sup>. and xij. yeres, to inhabite a thirde or fourthe parte of those excedinge large and waste contries, which are as greate as all Europe and Africke.

3. The inducements that moved his Holines to graunt these unequall donations unto Spaine were, firste, (as he saiethe) his singuler desire and care to have the Christian religion and Catholicque faithe exalted, and to be enlarged and spreadd abroad throughoute the worlde, especially in his daies, and that

the salvation of soules shoulde be procured of every one, and that the barbarous nations shoulde be subdued and reduced to the faithe, &c. To this I aunswer that, if he had ment as in deede he saith, he shoulde not have restrayned this so greate and generall a worke, belonginge to the duetie of all other Christian princes, unto the Kinges of Spaine onely, as thoughe God had no servauntes but in Spaine; or as thoughe other Christian kinges then lyvinge had not as greate zeale and meanes to advaunce Gods glory as they; or howe mente he that every one shoulde put their helpinge hande to this worke, when he defended all other Christian Princes, in paine of his heavie curse and excommunication, to meddle in this action, or to employe their subjectes, thoughe yt were to the conversion of thinhabitauntes in those partes. And whereas, to colour this his donation, he addeth, that the Kinges of Spaine had bene at greate chardge in that discoverie in respect whereof he was induced to deale so franckly with them, yt is evident that the Bull was graunted in the yerz 1493. the iiij. of the moneth of May, at what time Columbus had made but one voyadge, wherein he was furnished onely with one small shippe and twoo little caravells, and had, in all his companie, but foure score and tenne men, and the whole voyadge stode the Kinge of Spaine in 2500. crownes only. So these 2500. crownes were the greate chardges that the Pope speaketh of, that induced him to graunte so large a donation; for that was the uttermoste that Columbus desired, as is to be redd in the 14. chapter of his owne sonnes historie.

Moreover, where the Pope confesseth he was informed, before the donation of his Bull, that the Kinges of Spaine had purposed, by the aide of God, to subdue and reduce unto the faithe all those landes and Ilandes, with their inhabitantes, whiche Columbus had founde in his firste discovery, in comendinge highly of this their intention, he semeth to confesse that they mighte have pursued that godly action very lawfully withoute makinge of him privy to their enterprize, which they did not in their firste sendinge furthe Columbus. And with what righte he builded and lette men in Hispaniola at the firste, before the Popes donation, with the selfe same righte he mighte have subdued all that he shoulde afterwarde discover. So, then, the Popes gifte was of no more force, then of that which they mighte have chalenged by their former righte and interest of discoverie. And as for their former zeale and resolution to publishe the Christian faithe in

those quarters, which the Pope confesseth to have bene in them before his donation, whose seeth not that he stirres them uppe to nothinge, but to that which he acknowledgeth to have bene in them already; and so he did nothinge but *actum agere*.

Againe; in that he saieth, that in no other respectes, but moved onely by his mere and francke liberaltie, *and for certaine secrete causes*, he gave unto them all the ilandes and firme landes which already have bene founde, and which shoulde afterwarde be founde, which were then discovered or afterwarde to be discovered, towards the West and the Southe, drawinge a straight line from the pole articke to the pole antarticke, whether the ilandes or firme landes founde or to be founde were towards the Indies or towards any other quarter; intendinge, nevertheles, that this line be distant an hundred leagues towards the West and the Southe from the iles which are comonly called the Azores, or those of Cape Verd: to this wee aunswer, that here wee are firste to consider that yt was no marvell that his Holines, beinge a Spaniarde borne, sett aparte all other respectes of justice and equitie, and of his mere motion and francke liberaltie was ready to raise and advaunce his owne nation, with doinge secrete wronge and injurie as moche as in him laye, and more, unto all other Princes of Christendome. For what els can those wordes importe, that he did it also for certain secrete causes, but give us juste cause to suspect that there wanted uprighte, indifferent, and sincere dealinges? And surely, if he had meant uprightly, he woulde have delte more plainely; for truthe seketh no secrete corners. But if you will have me to reveale those secrete causes, to say as the thinge was, they were nothinge else but the feare and jelousie that he had, that Kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. of England, with whome Bartholmewe Columbus had bene to deale in this enterprice, and even aboute this time had concluded with the Kinge upon all pointes and articles, whose even nowe was readie to sende him into Spaine to call his brother Christopher into England, shoulde put a foote into this action; which, if he had don, he shoulde bothe have share with the Spaniardes in the profit, and greatly eclips their honour and glorie. Also, he coulde not choose but be privie to the longe conference that Christopher Columbus had before time with the Kinge of Portingale, and offer which he made firste of all to the said Kinge of this discovery, whose thoughte at the firste delte doubly with Columbus, and sent other to finde oute that thinge which Columbus offered, yet, they

missinge of their purpose, the Kinge of Portingale woulde haue employed Columbus, and delte effectually with him to that end; but he conceavinge a greate displeasure againste the Kinge and his nation for his secrete seekinge to defraude him of his honour and benefite of his offer, stole prively oute of his realme into Castile. But the Pope, fearinge that either the Kinge of Portingale mighte be reconciled to Columbus, or that he mighte be drawen into England, by interposinge of his usurped auctoritie, thoughte secretly, by his unlawfull division, to defraude England and Portingale of that benefite. Loe, these were indeede the secrete causes, sodenly, withoute makinge the other Kinges privie to make his generall and universall donation of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine, by drawinge a lyne of partition from one pole unto another, passinge a hundred leagues westward of the Iles of Azores; which division, howe God caused to be deryded by the mouthe of a poor, simple childe, Fraunce Lopez de Gomera, one of the Spaniardes owne historiographers, dothe specially note in manner followinge: Before I finishe this chapter (saith he), I will recite, to recreate the reader, the which happened, upon this partition, to the Portingales. A Fraunces de Melo, Diego Lopes of Sequeria, and others, came to this assembly, and passed the river by Quidiana, a little infant that kepthe his mothers clothes, which she had washt and hong abroad to drye, demaunded of them, whether they were those that shoulde come to devide the worlde with the Emperour; as they answered yea, he tooke up his shirte behinde and shewed them his buttocks, sayenge unto them: Drawe your lyne through the middest of this place. This, saith the author, was published in contempte all abroade, bothe in the towne of Badayos and also in the assemblye of these committies. The Portingales were greatlye angrie therewithall, but the rest turned yt to a jest and laughed yt oute.

But what wise man seeth not that God by that childe laughed them to scorne, and made them ridicullous and their partition the eyes of the worlde and in their owne consciences, and caused the childe to reprove them, even as the dombe beaste, speakinge with mans voyce, reproved the foolishnes of Balam the Prophet.

4. The fourthe pointe which I purpose to touche, is the forme and manner of the stile of the donation itselfe, after a long preface and connyng preamble; and that begynneth in this manner: Wee therefore, by the auctoritie of God Almighty



which is geven to us in the person of Saincte Peter, and which wee enjoye in this worlde as the vicar of Jhesus Christe, give unto you all the ilandes and firme landes, with their seignories, cities, castells, &c. In which repitition of his donation the seconde time for failinge, he woulde shewe unto the world by what auctoritie and warrant he gave away from all the Indians their landes, contries, seignories, cities, castells, places, villages, righte, jurisdictions, and all other appurtenances and thinges belonginge to the same, to the Kinges of Spaine onely, and to their heires and successors for ever. This usurped auctoritie, as I have plainely confuted and denied in the begynnynge, so nowe, in a worde or twoo, I will shewe, that God never gave unto the Popes any suche auctoritie. The chefest and greatest auctoritie that ever was geven by Christe to Peter, is mentioned in the 16. chapter of St. Mathewe, *Matth: 16.* where Christe saieth unto him: I will give vnto thee the keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte binde in earthe shalbe bounde in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte loose in earthe shalbe loosed in heaven. St. Hierome, expoundinge of this place, saieth, that the priestes or bisshoppes duetie and auctoritie of the keyes, to binde or loose, is to knowe and declare by the holy Scripture, and by the judgements of the Catholicque Church, where and whoe he is that hath offended againste the will of God, and whoe beinge once a Christian is fallen from the societie, or gone astraye oute of the pathe and waye of the Church. These are the trewe keyes and twoo swordes which God hath put into prestes handes. And Peter Lombarde, the Master of the Sentences, one of their owne doctors, is of St. Hieromes opinion. And what auctoritie in the place above recited Christe comitted unto Peter, the same gave he also unto all the rest of his Apostles, *John 20. verse 21.* sayenge to them all: Whosoever synnes yee remitte, they are remitted unto them; and whoesocver synnes yee retaine, they are retained. But that either Peter or any of the Apostles did teache or affirme, that they had auctoritie to give awaye kingdomes of heathen Princes to those that were so farr from havinge any interest in them, that they knewe not whether there were any suche contries in the worlde or noe, I never reade nor hearde, nor any manc else, as I verely beleve. Which moste injuste and wrongfull dealinge of the Pope was notably confuted by Atabalipa, beinge an infidell. For after Fryer Vincent of

Valverde, of the companie and traine of Piçar, had made a oration to him, the some whereof was that he shoulde become Christyan, and that he shoulde obey the Pope and the Emperour to whome the Pope had geven his kingdome, Atabalipa, being greatly insensed, replied, that, seeinge he was now free, he woulde not become tributarye, nor thincke that there was any greater lorde then himselfe; but that he was willinge to be the Emperour's frende and to have his acquaintaunce, for that he muste nedes be some greate lorde that sente so many armies abroad into the worlde. He aunswered, moreover, that he woulde not in any wise obey the Pope, seinge he gave away that which belonged to another, moche lesse that he woulde leave his kingdome, that came unto him by inheritaunce, to one which he had never seene in his life. And whereas Fryer Vincent, being displeased at his replye, was gladd to seeke any waye to wreak his anger upon him, insomuche as when Atabalipa lett his portesse fall to the grounde, he was so testye that he sett Piçar and his souldiers forwardes, cryenge, Vengeaunce, Christians! vengeaunce! give the chardge upon them; whereby many Indians withoute resistaunce, or any stroke stricken on their partes, were moste pitefully mured and massacred, and Atabalipa himselfe taken, and afterwarde trecherously put to deathe; this Fryer himselfe, by Gods juste iudgemente, was afterwarde beaten to deathe with clubbes by the inhabitantes of Puna, as he fled from Don Diego de Almagre, as Fraunces Lopez de Gome precisely and of purpose noteth, libro 5. cap. 85. of his General Historie of the Indies; and, besides him, all the reste of the chefe that were the executioners of his rashe counsell, and of the Popes Donation, came to moste wretched and unfortunate ende as the aforesaide author there setteth downe in twoo severall chapters of Considerations, as he calleth them.

Moreover, since the fourme of the donation runneth not absolutely, but with this condition and chardge moste straightly enjoyned, viz., that the Kinges of Spaine shoulde sende thither sober and godly men, and cause the inhabitantes of those contries discovered or to be discovered to be instructed in the Catholique faith, and noseled in goodd manners, and that they should carefully applye themselves thereunto; see answer, that these conditions have bene wonderfully neglected, and that neither the people have bene carefully instructed in religion nor mannes and consequently that the conditions beinge not performed t



donation oughte of righte to be voide. For the Kinges of Spaine have sent suche helhoundes and wolves thither as have not converted, but almoste quite subverted them, and have rooted oute above fiftene millions of reasonable creatures, as Bartholmewe de Casas, the Bisshophe of Chiapa in the West Indies, a Spaniarde borne, dothe write at large in a whole volume of that argumente. And Gonsalvo de Ouiedo, another of their owne historiographers, and Capitaine of the Castle of Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, affirmeth the like: For there hath Spaniardes come into these contries, saieth he, which, havinge lefte their consciences and all feare of God and men behinde them, have plaid the partes not of men, but of dragons and infidells, and, havinge no respecte of humanitie, have bene the cause that many Indians, that peradventure mighte have bene converted and saved, are deade by divers and sondrie kindes of deathes. And althoughe those people had not bene converted, yet if they had bene lett to live, they mighte have bene profitable to your Majestie and an aide unto the Christians, and certaine partes of the lande shoulde not wholly have bene disinhabited, which by this occasion are altogether in a manner dispeopled. And they that have bene the cause of suche destruction call this contrie thus dispeopled and wasted, the contrie conquered and pacified; but I call it, quoth Gonsaluo, the contrie which is destroyed and ruyned; yea, so farr have they bene of from drawinge the Indians to the likinge of Christianitie and true Relligion, that the sentence of the Apostle may moste truly be verified of them, whoe saieth: The name of God is blasphemed amonge the Gentiles throughe you; ffor prooffe whereof you shall not nede to reade but that which Peter Benzo of Milan hath written, whoe remayned in these Indies, and served in the warres with the Spaniardes againste the Indians for the space of fourtene yeres. This Benzo saieth that the Indians, not havinge studied logicke, concluded very pertinently and categorically, that the Spaniardes, which spoiled their contrie, were more dangerons then wilde beastes, more furious then lyons, more fearefull and terrible then fire and water, or any thinge that is moste outergacious in the worlde. Some also called them the fome of the sea, others gave them names of the beastes which are moste cruell and lyvinge of praye which they have in their contrie. There were some likewise that called them Tuira, as one would say, the Devills goodd grace.

Those thinges beinge thus, whoe seeth not that the Pope is

frustrated of the ende which he intended in his Donation, and so the same oughte not to take effecte?

5. Fiftly, yf yt be true and that the Pope mente goodd earne that all Emperours and Kinges which should sende their subjectes or others to discover withoute the Kinge of Spaines leave should be excommunicated by him, why did he not first excommunicate Kinge Henry the Seaventh for sendinge furthe Sebastian Gabota with three hundred Englishemen, whoe by Gomera his owne confession, discovered from 58. degrees in the northe to 30. degrees towards the equinoctiall? Why did he not the like Kinge Henry the Eighte for sendinge to discover westwarde, the ninth. yere of his reigne, while he was yet in obedience to the Church of Rome? Why was he not offended and incensed againste Queene Mary, whoe suffered her subjectes, in the yere 1556. to seke oute, by the northeaste, the way to Cathaio and China, which are bothe within the pretended lymites of his donation, as John Gaetan and other Spaniardes doe write? Why did he not exercise his censures ecclesiasticall againste the Kinge of Fraunce, Fraunces the Firste, for sendinge furthe Verarsanus twice or thrise, Iaques Cartier twice, and Robervall once, towards the southwest and northwest? Why was not Henry the Second of Fraunce excommunicated for sendinge Villegagnon to inhabite in Brasil under the tropicke of Capricorne? Or Charles the IXth for aidinge Ribault firste, and after Ladoniere, and a thirde tyme Ribault, to fortifie and inhabite in Florida? Or why did he not thunder againste Emanuell, Kinge of Portingale, for sufferinge Gasper Cortecalis twice to seke to finde oute the northwestern passage, and one of his brothers another time afterwarde? Or wherefore did he not openly rebuke the Kinge of Denmarke for sufferinge his subjecte, John Scolno, a Dane, in the yere 1500. to seke the Straighte by the northwest, of whome Gemma Frisius and Hieronymo Giraua, a Spaniarde, make mention? Or what should be the reason that all these kinges of England, Fraunce, Portingale and Denmarke, beinge otherwise all at these times in obedience of the Church of Rome, should, withoute consent as yt were, disanull and neuer make accompte of this Bull of the Pope? which thinge doubtles they would never have don, if they had bene fully perswaded in their consciences, that if any Prince or Emperour, of what estate or condition soever, should attempte the contrary, as it is in the conclusion of the said Bull, he should be assured to incurr the indignation of Almighty God.

and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Pawle. But now, seinge all the kinges aforesaide sente all their subjectes to discover beyonde the Popes partition lyne withoute the leave or permission of the Spaniarde, they seme with one accorde to testifie unto the worlde, that they made no reconyng of the breache of that Bull, as of an acte moste unjuste, moste unreasonable, and moste prejudiciall to all other Christian princes of the worlde.

Againe; yt were small charitie in the Popes to curse those Princes that have bene or are willinge to employe their treasures and people in advauncinge the honour and glory of God, and the lawfull enrichinge and benefite of their people. And whatsoever Pope shoulde excommunicate or curse any Christian prince for seekinge to reduce to the knowledge of God and to civill manners those infinite multitudes of infidells and heathen people of the West Indies, which the Spaniardes in all this time have not so moche as discovered, moche less subdued or converted, his curse woulde lighte upon his owne heade, and, to those which he cursed undeservedly, woulde be turned to a blessinge.

To be shorte; thoughe Pope Alexander the vij<sup>th</sup>. by his unequall division, hath so puffed upp and inflamed with pride his moste ambitious and insatiable contrymen, that they are growen to this high conceite of themselves, that they shall shortly attaine to be lordes and onely seigniors of all the earthe, insomuche as Gonsaluo de Ouiedo sticketh not to write to Charles the Emperour, sayenge: God hath geven you these Indies *accio che vostra Maiesta sia uniuersale et unico monarcha del mondo*—to the intende that your Majesty shoulde be the universall and onely monarch of the world; yet God that sitteth in heaven laugheth them and their partitions to scorne, and he will abase and bringe downe their proude lookes, and humble ther faces to the duste; yea, he will make them, at his goodd time and pleasure, to confesse that the earthe was not made for them onely; as he hath already shewed unto the Portingales, which, not longe since, takinge upon them to deuide the worlde with lynes, doe now beholde the line of Gods juste judgmente drawen over themselves and their owne kingdome and possessions. And now, no doubt, many of them remember that the threateninge of the prophet hath taken holde upon them, whoe pronounceth an heaue woe againste all suche as spoile, because they themselves shall at length be spoiled.

6. Finally, to come to the sixte and laste pointe, yf you sider what recompence the Kinges of Spaine have made to Popes for this so greate a benefite bestowed upon them, shall easely see and acknowledge with me, that they were either moste ungrateful, or, which is moste likely, that they thoughte that they helde the Indies as the Popes gifte unto them, or that their title unto those regions depended upon francke almes or liberalitie ; ffor, if they had don soe, they coulede have done no lesse but have geven him the presentation of all archebisshopricks and bisshoprickes, and other gr. ecclesiastical promotions in recompence of their former and laste curtesie, wherein they have don the flatt contrary, reserving onely unto themselves the presentation and patronage of all archebisshopricks and bisshopricks that they have erected in the West Indies ; ffor, as Gomera saieth in his 6. booke and chapter of his Generall Historie of the Indies, the Kinges of Spaine is patrone of all the archebisshopricks, bysshoprick dignities, and benefices of the West Indies, and so he onely appointeth and presenteth them, so that he is absolute lord of the Indies.

This argueth that the Kinges of Spaine never made any gre. accompte of the Popes' Donation, but onely to blinde the eyes of the worlde with the sea of Rome ; ffor doubtles, if they had acknowledged their tenure to depende, as I saied, of the Popes mere liberalitie, they woulde have don otherwise, and woulde have requited them farr otherwise then by excludinge them quite oute, and makinge themselves absolute patrones of all ecclesiastical dignities whatsoever.

### Cap. XX.

A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie to move the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and plantinge there.

1. THE soyle yeldeth, and may be made to yelde, all severall comodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, domynions and territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of merchandise cometh into this realme.
2. The passage thither and home is neither to longe nor so shorte, but easie, and to be made wise in the yere.

3. The passage cutteth not nere the trade of any prince, nor nere any of their contries or territories, and is a safe passage, and not easie to be annoyed by prince or potentate whatsoever.

4. The passage is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and in that respect passeth our trades in the Levant Seas within the Straites of Juberalter, and the trades in the seas within the Kinge of Denmarke Straite, and the trades to the portes of Norway and of Russia, &c.; for as in the south weste Straite there is no passage in somer by lacke of windes, so within the other places there is no passage in winter by yse and extreme colde.

5. And where England nowe for certen hundreth yeres last passed, by the peculiar comoditie of wolles, and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher honour, mighte, and power then before, to the equallinge of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde; it cometh nowe so to passe, that by the greate endeavour of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the West Indies, nowe daily more and more multipliege, that the wolles of England, and the clothe made of the same, will become base, and every day more base then other; which, prudently weyed, yt behoveth this realme, yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes and basenes, but to stande in present and late former honour, glorie, and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing els but for the hope of the vent of our woll indraped, the principall and in effecte the onely enrichinge contynueinge naturall comoditie of this realme. And effectually pursueinge that course, wee shall not onely finde on that tracte of lande, and especially in that firme northwarde (to whome warme clothe shalbe righte wellcome), an ample vente, but also shall, from the north side of that firme, finde oute knowen and unknowen ilandes and domynions replenished with people that may fully vent the aboundance of that our comoditie, that els will in fewe yeres waxe of none or of small value by forreine aboundaunce, &c.; so as by this enterprize wee shall shonne the ymmynent mischefe hanginge over our heades, that els muste nedes fall upon the realme, without breache of peace or sworde drawen againste this realme by any forreine state; and not offer our auncient riches to scornefull neighbours at home,

nor sell the same in effecte for nothinge, as wee shall shew presently it be not provided for. The increase of the world in Spaine and America is of high pollicie, with greate desire overthrowe, endeavoured; and the goodnes of the forren our people will not enter into the consideration of, nor will we beleve aughte, they be so sotted with opinion of their and, yf it be not foresene and some such place of vent provided, farewell the goodd state of all degrees in this realme.

6. This enterprise may staye the Spanishe Kinge from flitting over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee sea plantations there in time, in tyme I say, and wee by planting lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returne of the noble portes of the purposed places of our planting by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that his navies by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the King of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by planting at Norumbega and on that tracte faster by, more to the northe and northward and in that there is from thence a moche shorter course, a course of more temperature, and a course that possesseth the continuance of ordinary windes, then the present course of the Spanishe Indian navies nowe dothe. And England possessing the purposed place of plantinge, her Majestie may, by benefete of the seate, havinge wonne goodd and royall land have plentie of excellent trees for mastes, of goodly timber to builde shippes and to make greate navies, of pitche, tarr, and all thinges incident for a navie royall, and that for nothinge and withoute money or request. Howe easie a matter it may be to this realme, swarming at this day with valiant young men rustinge and hurtfull by lacke of employment, and havinge many makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste connyng shipwrights of the worlde, to be lorded with those sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navie, and to cutt off him of yerely passage of his treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporters of the greate Antechriste of Rome, and to pull him downe in euill to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cutt off the cause of mischefes that come to all Europe by the peculiar aboundance of his Indian treasure, and this withoute difficultie.

7. This voyadge, albeit it may be accomplished by b

smallest pynnesse for advise or for a necessitie, yet for the distaunce, for burden and gaine in trade, the marchant will not for profitts sake use it but by shippes of greate burden; so as this realme shall have by that meane shippes of greate burden. and of greate strengthe for the defence of this realme, and for the defence of that newe seate, as nede shall require, and withall greate increase of perfecte seamen, which greate princes in time of warres wante, and which kinde of men are neither nourished in fewe daies nor in fewe yeres.

8. This newe navie of mightie newe stronge shippes, so in trade to that Norumbega and to the coastes there, shall never be subjecte to arreste of any prince or potentate, as the navie of this realme from time to time hath bene in the portes of thempire, in the portes of the Base Contries, in Spaine, Fraunce, Portingale, &c., in the tymes of Charles the Emperour, Fraunces the Frenche kinge, and others; but shall be alwayes free from that bitter mischeefe, withoute grefe or hazarde to the marchaunte or to the state, and so alwaies readie at the comaundement of the prince with mariners, artillory, armor, and munition, ready to offende and defende as shalbe required.

9. The greate masse of wealthe of the realme imbarqued in the marchantes shippes, caried oute in this newe course, shall not lightly, in so farr distant a course from the coaste of Europe, be driven by windes and tempestes into portes of any forren princes, as the Spanishe shippes of late yeres have bene into our portes of the Weste Contries, &c.; and so our marchantes in respecte of a generall safetie from venture of losse, are by this voyadge oute of one greate mischeefe.

10. No forren commoditie that comes into England comes withoute payment of custome once, twise, or thrise, before it come into the realme, and so all forren comodities become derer to the subjectes of this realme; and by this course to Norumbega forren princes customes are avoided; and the forren comodities cheapely purchased, they become cheape to the subjectes of England, to the common benefite of the people, and to the savinge of greate treasure in the realme; whereas now the realme becomethe poore by the purchasing of forreine comodities in so greate a masse at so excessive prices.

11. At the firste traficque with the people of those partes, the subjectes of this realme for many yeres shall chaunge many cheape comodities of these partes for thinges of highe valor there

not esteemed ; and this to the greate enrichinge of the realme common use faile not.

12. By the greate plentie of those regions the marchants and their factors shall lye there cheape, buye and repaire shippes cheape, and shall returne at pleasure withoute strait restraunte of forreine prince ; whereas upon staies and restraynt the marchaunte raiseth his chardge in sale over his ware ; buyenge his wares cheape, he may mainteine trade with stocke, and withoute takinge upp money upon interest ; and he shalbe riche and not subjecte to many hazardes, but so able to afforde the comodities for cheape prices to all subjects of the realme.

13. By makinge of shippes and by preparinge of thinges the same, by makinge of cables and cordage, by planting vines and olive trees, and by makinge of wyne and oyl husbandrie, and by thousandes of thinges there to be infinite numbers of the English nation may be set on worke the unburdenynge of the realme with many that now are chardgeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coste serve for makinge of salte, and the inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges, &c., and for makinge of yron, all which with moche more is hoped, withoute strait drawn, wee shall cutt the combe of the Frenche, of the Spaniards of the Portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater service of the wealthe of the realme.

15. The substaunces servinge, wee may oute of those partes receave the masse of wrought wares that now wee receive of Fraunce, Flaunders, Germanye, &c.; and so wee may daunt the pride of some enemies of this realme, or at the leaste in purchase those wares, that now wee buye derely of the French and Flemynge, better cheape ; and in the ende, for the part of this realme was wonte to receive, dryve them out of trade and idlenes for the settinge of our people on worke.

16. Wee shall by plantinge there enlarge the glory of the gospel and from England plante sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receave people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde

17. If frontier warres there chaunce to aryse, and if there be wee shall fortifie, yt will occasion the trayninge upp of our youth in the discipline of warr, and make a number fitt for the service



of the warres and for the defence of ous people there and at home.

18. The Spaniardes governe in the Indies with all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye with one voice, *Liberta, liberta*, as desirous of libertie and freedom, so no doubt whensoever the Queene of England, a prince of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughe oute all that tracte to use the naturall people there with all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yelde themselves to her governemente, and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde, and specially when they shall understande that she hath a noble navie, and that she aboundeth with a people moste valiaunte for theyr defence. And her Majestie havinge Sir Fraunces Drake and other subjectes already in credite with the Symerons, a people or greate multitude alreadye revolted from the Spanishe governemente, she may with them and a fewe hundrethes of this nation, trayned upp in the late warres of Fraunce and Flaunders, bringe greate thinges to passe, and that with greate ease; and this broughte so aboute, her Majestie and her subjectes may bothe enjoye the treasure of the mynes of golde and silver, and the whole trade and all the gaine of the trade of marchandize, that now passeth thither by the Spaniardes onely hande, of all the comodities of Europe; which trade of marchandize onely were of it selfe suffycient (without the benefite of the rich myne) to inriche the subjectes, and by customes to fill her Majesties coffers to the full. And if it be highe pollicie to mayneteyne the poore people of this realme in worke, I dare affirme that if the poore people of England were five times as many as they be, yet all mighte be sett on worke in and by workinge lynnens, and suche other thinges of marchandize as the trade in the Indies dothe require.

19. The present shorte trades causeth the maryner to be caste of and ofte to be idle, and so by povertie to fall to piracie. But this course to Norumbega beinge longer, and a contynuaunce of themploymente of the maryner, dothe kepe the maryner from ydlenes and necessitie; and so it cutteth of the principall actions of piracie, and the rather because no riche praye for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing nere their course.

20. Many men of excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes, overthrowen by suertishippe, by sea, or by some folly of

youth, that are not able to live in England, may there be ragged againe, and doe their contrie goodd service ; and many nedes there may (to greate purpose) require the savinge of great numbers, that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by gallowes.

21. Many souldiers and servitours, in the ende of the warre that mighte be hurtfull to this realme, may there be unladen of the common profite and quiet of this realme, and to our forreigne benefite there, as they may be employed.

22. The frye of the wandringe beggars of England, that growe upp ydly, and hurtfull and burdenous to this realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste contries at the home and forreine benefite, and to their owne more happy state.

23. If Englande crie oute and affirme, that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another, as in all places they doe, this Norumbega (if it be thoughte so goodd) offereth the remedie.

### Cap. XXI.

A note of some things to be prepared for the voyadge, which sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge to hande to the presente consideration, then for any other reason ; for that divers thinges require preparation long before the voyadge, wiihoute the which the voyadge maymed.

#### DEAD VICTUALL.

Hoggs fleshe, barrellled and salted, in greate quantitie.  
 Befe, barrellled, in lesse quantitie.  
 Stockfishe, Meale in barrells.  
 Oatemeale, in barrells, nere cowched.  
 Ryse, Sallett Oile, barrellied Butter.  
 Cheese, Hony in barrells.  
 Currans, Raisons of the sonne.  
 Dried Prunes, Olives in barrells.  
 Beanes, dried on the kill.  
 Pease, dried likewise.  
 Canary Wines, Hollocke.

Sacks racked.  
 Vinegar very stronge.  
 Aqua Vitæ.  
 Syders of Ffraunce, Spaine, and England.  
 Bere, brewed specially in speciall tyme.

## VICTUALL BY ROOTES AND HERBES.

|               |                                              |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Turnep Seede. | Passeneape Sede.                             |
| Radishe.      | Cariott.                                     |
| Naviewes.     | Garlicke.                                    |
| Onyons.       | Leekes.                                      |
| Melons.       | Pompions.                                    |
| Cowcombers.   | Cabage Cole.                                 |
| Parseley.     | Lettis.                                      |
| Endiffe.      | Alexander.                                   |
| Orege         | Tyme.                                        |
| Rosemary.     | Mustard Seede.                               |
| Fennell.      | Anny Seedes, newe and freshe<br>to be sowen. |

THE ENCREASE, RENEWE, AND THE CONTINEWE OF VICTUALL AT  
 THE PLANTINGE PLACES, AND MEN AND THINGES INCIDENT  
 AND TENDINGE TO THE SAME.

Bores, Soves.  
 Conies, Bucke and Dowe.  
 Doves, male and female.  
 Cockes, Hennes.  
 Duckes, male and female, for lowe soiles.  
 Turkies, male and female.  
 Wheat, Rye, Barley.  
 Bigge, or Barley Bere.  
 Oates, Beanes.  
 Pease, Ffacches.  
 Three square Graine.  
 Sugar cane planters with the plantes.  
 Vyne planters.  
 Olyve planters.  
 Gardiners for herbes, rootes, and for all earthe frutes.

} To sowe to  
 vittell by  
 breade and  
 drinke,  
 &c.

Graffers for frute trees.

Hunters, skilfull to kill wilde beasts for vittell.

Warryners to breede conies and to kill vermyn.

Fowlers.

Sea Fisshers.

Fresh water Fisshers.

Knytters of netts.

Butchers.

Salters and seasoners of vittell.

Salte makers.

Cookes.

Bakers.

Brewers.

Greyhoundes to kill deere, &c.

Mastives to kill heavie beastes of rapyne and for night watch.

Bloude houndes to recover hurte dere.

#### PROVISIONS TENDINGE TO FORCE.

Men experte in the arte of fortification.

Platformes of many formes redied to carry with you by ad-  
of the best.

Capitaines of longe and of greate experience.

Souldiers well trayned in Fflaunders to joyne with the young.

Harqubusshiers of skill.

Archers, stronge bowmen.

Bowyers.

Ffletchers.

Arrow head makers.

Bow stave preparers.

Glew makers.

Morryce pike makers, and of halbert staves.

Makers of spades and shovells for pyoners, trentchers,  
forte makers.

Makers of basketts to cary earthe to fortes and rampiers.

Pioners and spademen for fortification.

Salte peter makers.

Gonne powder makers.

Targett makers of hornes, defensive againste savages.

Oylethole doublett makers, defensive, lighte and gentle to  
in.

Turners of targetts of elme, and of other toughe woodds lighte.  
Shippes, Pynesses, Barkes, Busses with flatt bottoms, furnished with experte Seamen.

Swifte boates and barges to passe by winde and oare, covered with quilted canvas of defence againste shott from the shoare, to perce ryvers for discoverie, and to passe to and froe, offensive and defensive againste savages, devised by Mr. Bodenham of Spaine.

Shipwrights in some number to be employed on the timber.  
Oare makers, and makers of cable and cordage.

**PROVISIONS INCIDENT TO THE FIRSTE TRAFICQUE AND TRADE OF  
MARCHANDIZE.**

Grubbers and rooters upp of cipres, cedars, and of all other faire trees, for to be employed in coffers, desks, &c., for traficque.

Mattocks, narrowe and longe, of yron, to that purpose.

Millwrights, to make millies for spedy and cheape sawinge of timber and boardes for trade, and firste traficque of suertie.

Millwrights, for corne milles.

Sawyers, for comon use.

Carpinters, for buildinges.

Joyners, to cutt oute the boordes into chests to be imbarqued for England.

Blacksmithes, to many greate and nedefull uses.

Pitche makers.

Tarr makers.

Burners of asshes for the trade of sope asshes.

Cowpers, for barrells to inclose those asshes.

Tallow chandlers, to prepare the tallowe to be incasked for England.

Waxechandlers, to prepare waxe in like sorte.

Diers, to seeke in that firme that riche cochinilho and other thinges for that trade.

Mynerall men.

**ARTESANES, SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS, NOT IN TRAFICQUE  
BUT FOR BUILDINGES.**

Brick makers.

Tile makers.

Synkers of walles and finders  
of springes.



That the bookes of the discoveries of the West Indies, and the conquests of the same, be also caried, to kepe men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their myndes to courage and highe enterprizes, and to make them lesse careles for the better shonnyng of comon daungers in suche cases arisinge. And because men are more apte to make themselver subjecte in obedience to prescribed lawes sett downe and signed by a prince, then to the changeable will of any capitaine, be he never so wise or temperate, never so free from desire of revenge, it is wisshed that it were learned oute what course bothe the Spaniardes and Portingales tooke, in their discoveries, for government, and that the same were delivered to learned men, that had passed most of the lawes of th' empire and of other princes lawes, and that thereupon some speciall orders, fitt for voyadges and begynnnynges, mighte upon deliberation be sett downe and allowed by the Queenes moste excellent Majestie and her wise counsell; and, faire ingrossed, mighte in a table be sett before the eyes of suche as goe in the voyage, that no man poonished or executed may justly complaine of manifeste and open wronge offred.

That some phisition be provided to minister by counsell and by phisicke, to kepe and preserve from sicknes, or by skill to cure suche as fall into disease and distemperature.

A surgeon to lett bloude, and for such as may chaunce, by warrs or otherwise, to be hurte, is more nedefull for the voyage.

An apothecarye to serve the phisition is requisite; and the phisition deinge, he may chaunce (well chosen) to stande in steede of one and thother, and to sende into the realme, by seede and roote, herbes and plantes of rare excellencie.

If suche plentie of honye be in these regions as is saied, yt were to goodd purpose to cary in the voyage suche of the servauntes of the Russia Companie as have the skill to make the drincke called meth, which they use in Russia and Poland, and nerer, as in North Wales, for their wine; and, if you cannot cary any suche, to cary the order of the makinge of yt in writinge, that it may be made for a nede.

And, before many thinges, this one thinge is to be called, as yt were, with spede to mynde, that the prisons and corners of London are full of decayed marchantes, overthrown by losse at sca, by usuerers, suertshippe, and by sondry other suche meanes, and dare or cannot for their debtes shewe their faces; and in truthe many excellent giftes be in many of these men, and their

goodd giftes are not ymployed to any manner of use, nor are not like of themselves to procure libertie to employe themselves, but are, withoute some speciall meane used, to starve by wante, or to shorten their tymes by thoughte; and for that these men, schooled in the house of adversitie, are drawn to a degree higher in excellencye, and may be employed to greate uses in this purposed voyadge, yt were to greate purpose to use meanes by aucthoritie for suche as maliciously, wrongfully, or for triflinge causes deteyned, and to take of them and of others that hide their heades, and to employe them; for so they may be relieved, and the enterpryse furthered in many respectes.

And, in choice of all artesanes for the voyadge, this general rule were goodd to be observed, that no man be chosen that is known to be a Papiste, for the speciall nation they have of favour to the Kinge of Spain.

That also, of those artesanes which are Protestantes, that you may have chaunge and choice, that suche as be moste stout and lusty men be chosen, and suche as can best handle his sword or his harquebushe; for the more goodd giftes that the goodd the voyadge have, the more ys the voyadge benefited. therefore (many goinge) yf every mans giftes and goodd qualities be entred into a booke before they be received, they may be employed upon any necessitie in the voyadge in this or in that according as occasion of nede shall require.

#### FINIS.

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maiestie to M. Walter Raleigh now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe graunt to our trusty and welbeloued seruant Walter Raleigh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free liberty and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote,



heathen and barbarous lands, countreys, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to euery or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to haue, holde, occupy and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictions, royalties, priuiledges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and successors, shal goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especiall grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take and leade in the sayde voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them, such, and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to haue, take and employ, and vse sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by vs, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Raleigh his heires and assignes, and euery of them, shall haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreys, so to be discouered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and iurisdictions, as well marine as other within the

sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adioyning, had, or vsed, with full power to dispose thereof, and of part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of lawes of England, as neere as the same conueniently may be, his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors, reseruing alwayes to vs, our heires and successors, for all seruicetues, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discovery, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained. All which lands, Countreis, and territories shall for euer be holden of the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fift part, reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we do by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, or euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and euery such person or persons whatsoever, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Raleigh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayd, which they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the time as aforesayd with the subiects of any Christian Prince or Princes in amitie with vs) where the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of his or their associates or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterpriue, or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, eyther by sea or Lande the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies : granted and graunting by these presents further power and authority to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and euery those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the s

Walter Raleigh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subjects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they haue commonly vsed, or being driuen by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted :) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possess as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories, so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, shall in his iourneis for discouerie, or in the iourneis for conquest hereafter traualle to such lands, countreis, and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, or Territories, with such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may haue all the priuiledge of <sup>Free</sup> Denizens, and persons natieue of England, and within <sup>Denization</sup> our allegiance iu such like ample maner and forme, <sup>graunted.</sup> as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as vpon the finding out, discouering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneyes or voyages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace, and ciuill quietnesse eche

with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure profit enioy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine perill, wee for vs, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assigns for euer, that he, they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, punish, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, both marine and other, all such our subiects, as shall at any time aduenture themselues in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the said Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeares next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes, and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised or established, for the better government of the said people as is by the said. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances shall be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme and substance of the lawes, statutes, gouernment, or pollicie of England, and also that they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professing in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of our subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance vs, our heires and successors, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant full power and authoritie to our beloued Counsaillour Sir William Cecill knight, Lord Burghe, or high Treasurer of England, and to the Lorde Treasurer of England, for vs, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the priue Counsaile of vs, our heires and successors any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales, in vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by

and by themselues, or by their, or any of their sufficient Attorneys, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessities and commodities, of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and wee do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successors, or to any of the subiects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Gouvernors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successors, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouvernour or estate, or their subiects, wee, our heirs and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the terms to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold vs and themselues fully contented: And that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limitted, that then it shal be lawful to vs, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discourged (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires,

assignes, and adherents, and others so to be put out, and places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be our allegiance and protection, and free for all Prince and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, vs any way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging: for that expresse mention cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our tords, or predecessors to the said Walter Raleigh, before the made in these presents bee not expressed, or any other ordinance, provision, proclamation or restraint, to the effect thereof, before the time, giuen, ordained, or provided, for any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise standing. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused the letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selues, at Westminster the fve and twentie day of March, in the sixth Anno 1584. twentieth yeere of our Raigns.

The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two wherein were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey called Virginia Anno 1584. Written by one of the Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Raleigh knight, for charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth

THE 27 day of Aprill, in the yere of our redemption departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, hauing receiued our last and directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandements deliuered by your selfe at our leauing of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnnecessary and manifest discoverie of the Countrey, as also for tedious sake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our course thither and returning: onely I haue presumed to present you this brieue discourse, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to succede, as well to your selfe, (h

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\* This is the voyage that was taking place while Hakluyt was writing the Discourse on Planting I have given above.

direction and charge, and by whose seruantes this our discouerie hath beene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisdomes wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more South-  
A Southerly course not greatly needful for Virginia.  
 easterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, dis-  
 bogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwarde we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very vnwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that hauing refreshed our selues with sweet water, and fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriuall there. These Islands, with the rest adioyning, are so well knownen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The second of Iuly, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the  
A sweet smell from the land.  
 midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arriued vpon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer issuing into the Sea. The first that  
The first riuer.  
 appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without some difficultie, and cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thanks giuen to God for our safe arriuall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the  
Iuly 13 possession taken.  
 land next adioyning, and "to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after deliuered the same ouer to your vse, according to her Maiesties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnesse great seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vsed in such enterprises, we viewed the land about vs, being,



whereas we first landed, very sandie and low  
 Abundance of grapes. the waters side, but so full of grapes, as  
 beating and surge of the sea ouerflowed  
 which we found such plentie, as well there as in all pla  
 both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, a  
 plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climbing  
 the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world  
 abundance is not to be found: and my selfe hauing seen  
 parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference  
 incredible to be written.

We passed from the Sea side towards the toppes  
 hilles next adioyning, being but of meane h  
 The Isle of Wokokon. from thence wee behelde the Sea on both  
 the North, and to the South, finding no ene  
 both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to th  
 which after wee found to bee but an Island of twen  
 long, and not above sixe miles broade. Vnder the bank  
 whereon we stooode, we behelde the vallyes replenis  
 goodly Cedar trees, and hauing discharged our harqueb  
 such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose v  
 with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an  
 men had showted all together.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere  
 Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middest of Summer in i  
 abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in  
 Moscouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the hig  
 reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Cedar  
 Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sa  
 the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the  
 beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master  
 brought from the streightes of Magellan, and many  
 excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the sid  
 Island two whole dayes before we saw any people  
 Countrey: the third day we espied one small boat  
 towards vs having in it three persons: this boat cam  
 Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, a

Conference with a Sauage. two of the people remaining, the third ca  
 the shoreside towards vs, and wee being  
 within boord, he walked vp and downe v  
 point of the land next vnto vs: then the Master and th  
 the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip



my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, neuer making any shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstood by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboard the ships, and gaue him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after hauing viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe <sup>Abundance of fish.</sup> an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he diuided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse; which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites receiued, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or <sup>The arriual</sup> fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in of the kings <sup>brother.</sup> their behauour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maiestie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place ouer against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place his seruants spread a long matte vpon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer mistrusted any harme to be offered from vs, but sitting still he beckoned vs to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of ioy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast, and afterwarde on ours, to shew wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech vnto vs, wee presented him with diuers things, which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankfully. None of the companie durst speake one worde all the time: only the foure which were at theother ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and chieftains reuerenced: the King himselfe in person was at our being sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recovered by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being sixe dayes journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, wee likewise gaue somewhat to the King that satte with him on the mat: but presently he arose, and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, marking signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. A day or two

after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoyes, Buffes, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our pieces of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne

most pleased him, which hee presently tooke vp and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke.

making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrows: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our hatchets for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fiftie Crownes. They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes for kniues and would haue giuen any thing for swordes: but we would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the King's brother came aboard the shippes, and dranke wine, and ate of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof.

after a fewe days ouerpassed, he brought his wife with him to the shippes, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was well fauoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead

shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, (wherein wee deliuered your worship a little bracelet) and those were the signes of good pease. The rest of her women of the same sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some

White corall.  
Pearles.

the children of the kings brother and other noble men, haue five or sixe in either eare : he himselfe had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpolished we knew not what mettall it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne and chesnut coloured haire.

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dies, very excellent, and exchanged with us : but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe : except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe : for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderstood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouernours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to vs (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes : and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, sauing her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might vnderstand with what strength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees : Pitch trees. a wood not commenly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall ; if they haue any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wracke which happened vpon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saued, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast vpon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner The manner of making their boates is thus : they burne downe of making some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and their boates. putting gumme and rosen vpon one side thereof, they set fire

into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the  
with their shels, and euer where they would burne it do  
wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber  
this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will  
port twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and made  
they set with long poles, as the depth serueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword  
diuers other things which we had : and offered to lay a gage  
of pearl in gage for them : but we refused it for this time,  
we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof  
we had vnderstoode in what places of the countrey they  
grew : which now your Worshippe doeth very well vnderstand.

He was very iust of his promise : for many times we desired  
him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within  
and performed his promise. He sent vs euery day a brace  
of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world  
sent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers,  
Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent  
good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire  
well tasted, and groweth three times in fiew moneths : in  
they sow, in Iuly they reape, in Iune they sow, in August  
reape : in Iuly they sow, in September they reape : once  
cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soile  
with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe : our selues plow  
soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in  
dayes they were of fourteene ynches high : they haue also  
very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie : some  
naturally, and some in their gardens, and so haue they wheat  
oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome  
of all the worlde : there were aboute fourteene seuerall  
smelling timber trees, and the most part of their vnderwood  
Bayes and such like : they haue those Okes that we haue  
farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times  
our shippes, my selfe, with seuen more went twentie mile  
Riuier, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which  
they call Occam : and the euening following, wee came to  
Island which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbor  
which we entered, seuen leagues : and at the north end  
was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified  
about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and

entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially ; when wee came towardes it, standing neere vnto the waters side, the wife of Granganimeo the kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village : some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe : others she appointed to cary vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fve roomes in her house, she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dried them againe : some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all thinges ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dress some meate for vs to eate.

After we had thus dried ourselues, she brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes and diuers fruites : their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and black Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and diuers others wholesome, and medicinable herbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kinnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly deuise. We found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defende them selues from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselues with such meat as the soile affoordeth : their meat is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and sauorie : their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wodden platters of sweet timber : within the place where they feede was their lodging, <sup>Their Idole.</sup> and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons : but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much

mooued, and caused some of her men to runne out, away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. departed in the euening and would not tary all night very sory, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate side, in which lay all night, remoouing the same a prettie distance from shoare: shee perceiuing our ielousie, was much grieved, sent diuers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on our side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fiue mattes to lie from the raine, vsing very many wordes to entreate vs to come to their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and it was miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, if not adventure any thing, although there was no cause for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and out of this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great riuer Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, and sixe dayes iourney from the Skicoak a great towne. situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, where the people affirme to be very greate: but the people were neuer at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to be aboute one houres iourney about.

Into this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Wingandacoa, which there is found great store of Muskles in which are found pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam riuer, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that country is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subject to any king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this there is another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these two kings are in league with each other. Towards the South four dayes iourney is situate a towne called Sequotan, the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which

and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away. whereof some of the people were saued, and some were white people, whom the country people prize.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island within the bay called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the



Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together and made mastes vnto them and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vpon the coast cast a land in another Island adioyning: other then these, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred maruelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins, euer coueting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in maruelous admiration, and all things els were so strange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselues vse are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they vse wooden breast-plates for their defence. They haue beside a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towards the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissentions which haue happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Adioyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate vpon a goodly riuier called Neus: these kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piamacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderstand: but there remaineth a mortall

Their  
weapons.

Or Pananu-  
aioc.

malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries and slaught  
vpon them by this Piernacum. They invited diuers  
thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their tow  
feast: and when they were altogether merry, and prayin  
their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of th  
the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly vpon th  
slewe them euery one, rescruing the women and childr  
these two haue oftentimes since perswaded vs to surp  
macum his towne, hauing promised and assured vs, th  
will be found in it great store of commodities. But  
their perswasion be to the ende they may be reuenged  
enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue tha  
tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islan  
plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, togeth  
many townes, and villages, along the side of the continen  
bounding vpon the Islands, and some stretching vp furth  
the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thoug  
first land we saw to bee the continent; but after we entr  
the Hauen, we saw before vs another mighty long Sea: f  
lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth  
length, adioyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the  
two or three entrances: when you are entred betwee  
(these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as  
places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe m  
there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth  
places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles oue  
you come vnto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea

Roanoak aboute an hundreth Islands of diuers bignesses.  
sixteen one is sixteene miles long, at which we were  
miles long. it a most pleasant and fertile ground, rej  
with goodly Cedars, and diuers other sweete woods  
Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commoditie  
we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Islan  
are many, as I haue sayd, some of two, or three, of four  
miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and ple  
behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares, and diuer  
and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world  
greatest abundance.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particular



discouery made this present voyage, as farre forth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this seruice at this time, which wee hope hereafter to enlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe giuen, we resolued to leaue the countrey, and to apply ourselues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in possession by vs, to her Maiesties vse, and so to yours by her Maiesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen, and men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maiesties behalfe may be preuented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may vse and pretend, whose names are :

|                       |   |                     |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| Master Philip Amadas, | } | Captaines.          |
| Master Arthur Barlow, |   |                     |
| Willian Greeneuile,   | } | Of the<br>companie. |
| Iohn Wood,            |   |                     |
| Iames Browewich,      |   |                     |
| Henry Greene,         |   |                     |
| Beniamin Wood,        |   |                     |
| Simon Ferdinando,     |   |                     |
| Nicholas Petman,      |   |                     |
| Iohn Hewes,           |   |                     |

We brought home also two of the Sauages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greeneuile,\* for Sir Walter Raleigh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.

The 9. day of April, in the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seuen sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seuen score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the

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\* This is the same Sir Richard Grenville whose heroic fight in the "Revenge" is so well known.

Dorothie, a small barke : whereunto were also adio speedy services, two small pinnesses. The principall G of our Companie, were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Candish, M. Iohn Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stuk Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. Iohn Clarke, and diuer whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assis counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Fort Isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued o for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, v we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following we an anker at Cotesa, a little Iland situate neere to the S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreshed our selues day.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Moskito, in the Island of S. Iohn, within a  
 The land  
 vpon the  
 Iland of S. Iohn de  
 Porto Rico.  
 shot of the shoare : where our Generall Sir Greeneuil, and the most part of our companie and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea si  
 riuier ran by the one side of our forte, and th  
 two sides were inuironed with woods.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within th with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, so whereof we fet three miles vp in the land, and broug our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make resistance.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woo horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our for assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards th presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separat our fletee in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arriued a within the sight of the Tiger : we thinking him a farre of beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, though to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which th did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consort of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinar saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewe selues to vs vpon the other side of the riuier : who being

our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsmen of ours, mounted vpon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arriuall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selues with water and victuales, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in neede, which we craued might be yeilded vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieue ourselues by the sword) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yeilded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great fauour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and launched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish vs with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for periurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29.\* day wee set saile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs stung before vpon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards vpon the sight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich freight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo Bay vpon the Southwest side of Saint Iohn, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arriued there, hee landed with

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\* Should be 24th.

his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hills trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came towards him two or three troopes of horsemen and who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durst neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master La their troopes, caryed their salte aboard and laded his so returned againe to our fleete the 27. day, which Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and tharriued in the Iland of Hispaniola.

### Iune.

THE 1. day of Iune we anchored at Isabella, on the of Hispaniola.

The 3. of Iune, the Gouvernour of Isabell, and Captaine Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry who had beene well intertained aboard our shippe Generall, that in our fleete were many braue and gallant men, who greatly desired to see the Gouvernour afore thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, within fewe dayes to come to him in person, which he performed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Gouvernour accompanied with Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their seruants and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our shippe was anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediately the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleet, a man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the same time our Generall, the Spanish Gouvernour receiued him very honourably, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Captaine and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of whereof they desired that all might not land their men, in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouvernour discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters touching the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two

ing houses couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the seruants. and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tobacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed w.th great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shewe of friendship, and courtesie vsed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that was amongst vs, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainement: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint Iohn de Vllua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the streites of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day wee ankered at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee vnderstood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to haue beene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hasard, and returned aboard the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-pondes, vpon the aduertisement and information of a Portu-  
They land on the Iles of Caicos.  
 gall: who in deede abused our Generall and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased vs.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a bre  
the Cape of Feare.\*

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where we  
one tyde so much fish as would haue

They land  
in Florida. twentie pounds in London: this was our fi  
in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into  
bour, where through the vnskillfulnesse of the Ma  
name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground,

Iuly. The 3. we sent word of our arriuing at  
to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundel was sent to the maine, and  
with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten  
day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our  
there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some  
before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten retu  
two of our men found by them, to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt  
Master Iohn Arundell, Master Stukeley, and diuers oth  
men, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and  
others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine  
with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and I  
in another ship-boate, passed ouer the water from W  
the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which  
first discouered the townes of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc and  
and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paqu  
diuers other places, and so returned with that discov  
Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well enterta  
of the Sauages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boat  
Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demanda a siluer  
one of the Sauages had stollen from vs, and not r

\* Off Smith's Island.

† Probably Lake Matimuskeet.

according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we weyed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboard the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok. August.

The 5. M. Iohn Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall weyed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, assoone as euer he and his men were out of it.

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger. Septemlier.

The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Falmouth. October.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously receiued by diuers of his worshipfull friends.

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, vnder the Gouvernement of Master Ralph Lane.

|                           |                    |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| MAster Philip Amadas, Ad- | Master Hariot.     |
| mirall of the country.    | Master Acton.      |
| Master Edward Stafford.   | Thomas Luddington. |
| Master Maruyn.            | Master Gardiner.   |
| Captaine Vaughan.         | Master Kendall.    |
| Master Prideox.           | Robert Holecroft.  |
| Rise Courtney.            | Master Hugh Roger. |
| Master Thomas Haruie.     | Master Snelling.   |
| Master Anthony Russe.     | Master Allyne.     |
| Master Michael Polison.   | Iohn Cage.         |
| Thomas Parre.             | William Randes.    |
| Geffery Churchman.        | William Farthow.   |
| Iohn Taylor.              | Philip Robyns.     |

|                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Thomas Philips.       | Valentine Beale.   |
| Thomas Foxe.          | Darby Glande.      |
| Edward Nugen.         | Edward Kelley.     |
| Iohn Gostigo.         | Erasmus Ciefs.     |
| Edward Ketcheman.     | Iohn Linsey.       |
| Thomas Rottenbury.    | Roger Deanc.       |
| Iohn Harris.          | Francis Norris.    |
| Matthew Lynce.        | Edward Kettell.    |
| Thomas Wisse.         | Robert Biscoombe.  |
| William Backhouse.    | William White.     |
| Henry Potkin.         | Dennis Barnes.     |
| Ioseph Borges.        | Dougham Gannes.    |
| William Tenche.       | Randall Latham.    |
| Thomas Hulme.         | Walter Mill.       |
| Richard Gilbert.      | Steuens Pomarie.   |
| Iohn Brocke.          | Bennet Harrie.     |
| Iames Steuenson.      | Charles Steuenson. |
| Christopher Lowde.    | Ieremie Man.       |
| Iames Mason.          | Dauid Salter.      |
| Richard Ireland.      | Thomas Bookener.   |
| William Philips.      | Randall Mayne.     |
| Iames Skinner.        | George Eseuen.     |
| Iohn Chanderler.      | Philip Blunt.      |
| Richard Poore.        | Robert Yong.       |
| Marmaduke Constable.  | Thomas Heskett.    |
| William Wasse.        | Iohn Feuer.        |
| Daniel.               | Thomas Taylor.     |
| Richard Humfrey.      | Iohn Wright.       |
| Gabriel North.        | Bennet Chappell.   |
| Richard Sare.         | Iames Lacie.       |
| Smolkin.              | Thomas Smart.      |
| Robert.               | Iohn Euans.        |
| Roger Large.          | Humfrey Garden.    |
| Francis Whitton.      | Rowland Griffyn.   |
| William Millard.      | Iohn Twit.         |
| Edward Seclemore.     | Iohn Anwike.       |
| Christopher Marshall. | Dauid Williams.    |
| Nicholas Swabber.     | Edward Chipping.   |
| Siluester Beching.    | Vincent Cheyne.    |
| Hance Walters.        | Edward Barecombe.  |
| Thomas Skeuelabs.     | William Walters.   |



**An** extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

IN the meane while you shall vnderstand, that since Sir Richard Greeneuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discovered the maine to be the goodliest soyle vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummess, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, so many sortes of Apothecarie drugs, such seuerall kindes of flaxe, and one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And nowe within these few dayes we haue found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and vnknown greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though sauagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe, being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these partes, The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia. doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that possess the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most curteous, and very desirous to haue clothes, bvt especially of Commodities course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also fit to carie to Virginia. like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue inioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both I commit you to the tuition of the Almightye. From the New Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend.

RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntil the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey; sent a letter directed to Sir Walter Raleigh.

THat I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to diuide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Countrey within the maine, our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable us to enter into the discouery of.

The second part shall set downe the reasons <sup>2 parts of this discourse.</sup> generally mouing vs to resolute on our departure from the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant to be left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for further time meant to haue stayed there, were caryed away by tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof she declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the maine to haue cut vs off, &c.

#### The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

FIRST therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey you shall vnderstand that our discouerie of the same hath been extended from the Island of Roanoak, (the same hauing been the place of our settlement or habitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The vttermost place to the Southward of any discouery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds:\* we had but one boate with four oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carrye above fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seven dayes at the most: and as for our pinesse, besides that s

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\* Pamlico Sound.

drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leuee the discouery of those parts vntill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discouery was to the Chesepians\* distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fiftene miles from the shore) was for The excellencie of the pleasantnes of seat, for temperature of Climate, for seat of fertilitie of soyle and for the commoditie of the Sea, Chesepioock. besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the same, as the Mandages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discouery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound,† but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, nauigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwein: all these being vnder the iurisdiction of the king of Weopomeiok, called Okisco: From Muscamunge we enter into the Riuer,‡ and iurisdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to straighten vntil it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betweene Westminster and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it

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\* Chesapeake Bay.

† Albemarle Sound.

‡ River Meherrin?

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Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field  
it is subiect to Chawanook.

Chawanook it selfe is the gr  
The towne  
of Chawa-  
nook able to  
make 700.  
men of warre.  
Seigniorie lying vpon that R  
Towne it selfe is able to put  
into the field, besides the fore  
selfe.

The king of the sayd Prouince is called  
impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sau  
wise man, and of a very singular good discor  
cerning the state, not onely of his owne  
disposition of his owne men, but also of  
about him as well farre as neere, and of  
eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had h  
for two dayes that we were together, he g  
standing and light of the Countrey then I ha  
searches and Sauages that before I or any o  
had conference with: it was in March last p  
other things he tolde me, that going thre  
Canoe vp his Riuer of Chawanook, and th  
land, you are within foure dayes iourney  
Northeast to a certaine kings countrey, whose  
the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is  
he described vnto mee, in a Bay, the w  
Island very deepe.

Out of this Bay hee signified vnto mee, th  
greate quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so c  
take the same, as that not onely his owne  
that hee weareth, and the better sort of his g  
and followers are full set with the sayd Pear  
and houses are garnished with them, and  
quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was wi  
two yeeres before, and brought him certaine  
of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy the  
at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue  
same pearle, but they were blacke, and naug  
were very great, and a few amongst a num  
round, all which I lost with other things of m  
Sir Francis Drake his Fleete; yet he told  
King had great store of Pearle that were wh

and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speech, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart wither then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to giue me guidis to go ouer and into that kings countrey whensoever I would : but he aduised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he sayd would fight very well. Hereupon I resolued with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to haue found out the newe corne were come in, I would haue sent a small fricke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which should haue ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone vp to An enterprise round the head of the riuer of Chawanook with the guidis of speciall importance.

hat Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene assured should haue beene of his best men, (for I had nearly his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, men fall the voyage ouer land.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left a few and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes journey. In the ende of my march vpon some conuenient plot where I would haue left fiftene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raised my

owne Sauages in the discoverie of our voyage intended we had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, then for our copper to haue had corne of them : I at the Corps of guard, before the putting forth of Centinised the whole company of the case wee stode in and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our own and of purpose drawn forth by them vpon vaine hope the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fled beie therefore while wee had those two dayes victual left, I good for vs to make our returne homeward, and th necessary for vs to get the other side of the Sound of W in time, where wee might be relieued vpon the wear panum, and the womens Towne, although the people

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way lesse I did referre it to the greatest number of voyc wee should aduenture the spending of our whole victu further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selues ba And for that they might be the better aduised, I will deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the mor going aborde to set our course according to the des greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholly wa three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that while lefte but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee leaue the search of that Riuer, and that there were i panie two Mastiues vpon the pottage of which with leaues (if the worst fell out) the company would make two dayes, which time would bring them downe the the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sou two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes fast rather then be drawn backe a foote till they had Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution did not a little please mee, since it came of themselue for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pr haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to haue so with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Proud which the said Mangoaks haue recourse and traffiq

Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marueilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the said riuer, and also to the Sauages Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine : the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador euery mettall whatsoever : they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs : and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale : they say that they take the saide mettall out of a riuer that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water : the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne ouer the hollow of, parte thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall : that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeeld in fiae parts at the first melting, two parts of mettall for three partes of oare. Of this mettall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that they beautify their houses with greate plates of the same : and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and prrticularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne of my prisoner, who also him selfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, nnd set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned : but he had not bene at Chaunis Temoatan himselfe : for hee said it was twentie dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the said Minerall Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Vpon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of by all the Sauages that dwelt towardses these parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe ouer with me, euen to the said Country of Chaunis



Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to one dayes iourney from Sunne rising to Sunne setting) by water it is seuen dayes with the soonest made me very desirous by all meanes to get to Mangoaks, and to get some of that their country therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution very contrary to all expectation, and like many dayes trauell, and our whole victuall spent in the night, wee could neuer see man, onely fire made alongst the shoare where we were to pass the Country, vntill the very last day. In the evening three of the clocke wee heard certaine Sauages, Manteo, who was also at that time with me, and we all being very glad, hoping of some friendship with them, and making him to answeere them, they sang, as we thought, in token of our welcome. Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and they meant to fight with vs: which word was said by him, and the light horseman ready to pursue, lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst us, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Another boate lying ready with their shot to skilfully hand weapons to lande vpon, which was presently the land was very high and steepe, the Sauages on the shoare, and betooke themselues to flight, hauing faire and easily followed for a small time. When we had wooded themselues we know not where to goe then towards the setting, and being then a day if wee would pursue them, though we might come with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with victuall, which we then had good cause to desire. Choosing for the company a conuenient ground to stay in for the night, making a strong Corps of good Centinels, I determined the next morning to goe of the Sunne to be going back againe, if possible, to the mouth of the riuer, into the broad sound. In this motion I found my whole company ready to follow, they were now come to their Dogges possession, and bespoken for themselues if that befell them, that before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The next day by night to the Riuer mouth



five miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe the current, much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Iland, where wee had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer used before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which was fasted very truely. Vpon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Sauages that we had left there were left, but their weares did yeeld vs some fish, as God was pleased not vtterly to suffer vs to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arriued at our home Roanoak.

I haue set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst vs, to haue perfited this discouerie of the Mine: for that the discouery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discouery of either of the two aboue shewed, it will bee the most sweet and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good merchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselues will not be worth fetching.

Prouided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I should haue had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driuen away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to vs in any conuenient sufficiencie. For this riuier of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Yougha that though it be but copper, seeing the Sauages are all it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the North before is saide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland Riuer of Choanoak sconses being raised, from where ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes the first towne of the Mangoaks vp the riuer of Morat way, as also vpon the said Riuer for the defence of our sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall your selfe from all those dangers and broad shallow sound mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your way into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest part maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can be formed.

Thus Sir, I haue though simply, yet truely set downe to you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and men of our company (not without both paine and perill) the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from, and yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in a more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely you had prouided for vs had at the first bene left with him, hee had not in his eternall prouidence now at the last chosen other course in these things, than the wisdom of man can looke into, which truely the carying away by a most sudden vnlooked for storme of all our prouision, with Barkes, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake the same hauing bene most sufficient to haue performed the greatest part of the premisses, must euer make me to be in the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to manifest his vnknownen) to haue bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discouery of the same, and at the last, of our departure with Sir Francis Drake for England.

ENsenore a Sauage father to Pemisapan being a friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before

himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against vs, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to saue vs from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe vs very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to haue assuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee could haue bene preserued from staruing out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

This skill of  
making  
weares  
would be  
learned.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselves, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starued, but the other false.

Neuerthesse vntill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almighty God of heauen, and Iesus Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince soeuer. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the king was resolved to haue presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But euen in the beginning of this brute I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertisement that hee had receiued: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say

Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little assuage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to be receiued againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the King and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, shoulde finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wise amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of vs, in the aire shot and stricken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had fallen among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made vp the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almightye for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayde Okiosko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pem-

isapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set vp weares foorthwith for vs: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God blessing the growth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our selues to sowe. All

which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruest,) that then a newe supply out of England or else our owne store would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Sauages should not helpe vs with Chassaui, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile vs, (as often they did) we might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the staruing horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped, but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in vre against vs, which were readily imbraced, and all their former deuises against vs, renewed, and new brought in question. But that of staruing vs, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer against vs. Neuerthelesse there wanted no store of mischieuous practises among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.



First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooued, and with great quantitie of copper intertaind to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be invited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe vse to solemnise in their Sauage maner for any great personage dead, and should haue bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians and their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe aboue named should haue executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should haue come ouer into the Island, where they went to haue dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed & dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to the had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same which they ment should in this sort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would haue come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, vpon the instant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The same order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell vs any victuals whatsoever: besides that in the night they should sende to haue our weares robbed and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broker

The suffi-  
ciencie of our  
men to deal  
against the  
Sauages.  
10 to an  
hundred.

neuer to bee repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to liue vpon shell fish, for so the Sauages themselues doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among vs, our weares failing vs of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serue two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came vpon the coast to warne vs of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Prouost Marshal to liue there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent euery weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine ouer against vs, to liue of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan, went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken vp, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeeue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid, : all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his

force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags receiued the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of June: all which the premises were discouered by Skycco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well vsed at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discouered al vnto me, which also afterwards was reueiled vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to saue all others, which were at the time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent a Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arriual of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him and the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Sauages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolved not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day: but that night I meant to giue them in the Iland a camisado,\* and at the instant to seize vpon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from aduertisements.

\* Night surprise. So called from having been made by horsemen with white shirts over their armour so as to recognise each other in the darkness.



But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this, I had sent the Master of the light horsemen, with a few with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, and to take as many as were going from vs to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoa, going from the shore, and ouerthrew the canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discouered from the shore; <sup>The slaughter and surprise of the Sauages.</sup> whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuy to their owne villanous purposes against vs, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The alarme giuen, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsemen and one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my selfe amidst seuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watch-word agreed vpon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chicfe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purposed for vs. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the sauing of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man seruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouost, vndertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king and my man by our owne negligence to haue beene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pem- <sup>Pemisapan</sup> isapans head in his hand. <sup>slaine.</sup>

This fell out the first of Iune 1586, and the eight of the same

came aduertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discouered a great fleet of three and twentie sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He aduised me to stand vpon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, and that same day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I must truly report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that neuer spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any seruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harbor: and comming there to an anker, the eleuenth day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deserued, but as I could both for my company and myselfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craued at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and vnfit men for any good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leaue vs so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discouered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouision in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That it would please him withall to leaue some sufficient Masters not onely to cary vs into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe vs to some small boats and oare-men.

Also for a supply of calieuers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He hauing receiued these my requests, according to his vsuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I vsed in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboard with him; which were the Master of the victuals, the Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboard her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoever, to the vttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by iudgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to employ themselues most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, vntill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the prouision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my sayd Masters being also gone aboard, my sayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an vnwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foreseee the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboard: but in the end hauing driuen sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my prouisions, my two Masters, and my company aboard, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all prouisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any

thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the rest vnto my selfe, and aduised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliuer presently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, shoulde be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my selfe to the Generals offer; their whole equest was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take vs from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her to be any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenuill, so vndo as promised vs before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for *Flax* and also for America, that therefore I would resolute myself with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to giue vs present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe deliuered vnto him, hee most readily assented vnto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses vnto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast ouerboard, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieued with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing bestowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme sustained more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises vnto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of Iune 1596, and arriued in Portsmouth the seuen and twentieth of Iuly the same yeere.

END OF VOL. II., PART I.

# **Voyages of the English Nation to America.**

**VOL. II.**

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**PART II.**

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## THE VOYAGES AND NAUIGATIONS

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO VIRGINIA, AND THE SEUERAL DIS-  
COUERIES THEREOF CHIEFLY AT THE CHARGES OF THE  
HONOURABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT, FROM 33 TO  
40 DEGREES OF LATITUDE: TOGETHER WITH THE SUCSESSE  
OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES THERE PLANTED: AS LIKEWISE  
A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, WITH THE INHABITANTS,  
AND THE MANIFOLD COMMODITIES. WHEREVNTO ARE  
ANNEXED THE PATENTS, LETTERS, DISCOURSES, &c. TO  
THIS PART BELONGING.

*(Continued.)*

The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the  
reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole  
charges of Sir Walter Raleigh.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh at his owne  
charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all  
maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and  
reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they  
set saille from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony  
halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore euery  
man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the  
residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better  
performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and  
set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull  
a maner as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any  
further labour. Thus trusting to their owne haruest, they passed  
the Summer till the tenth of Iune: at which time their corne  
which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but  
then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne  
from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint  
Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his country-  
men the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing  
along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our

English Colony inhabited : and hauing espied some of that company, there he ankered and went aland; where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them. They answered him that they liued all; but hitherto some scarsity: and as yet could heare of no supply out England: therefore they requested him that hee would leaue with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themselues. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were thus writing their letters to send into England, and some other making reports of the accidents of their trauels to each other some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and drove the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English Colony: the rest of land perceiuing this, hasted to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene charged from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were: the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrage committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of the country.\*

Immediately after the departing of our English Colony from this paradise of the world, the ship abouementioned arrived in Virginia. sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his direction, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony vp in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd prouision into England.

About foureteene or fiftene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinuile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes we third voyage. appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; without finding the aforesaid shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and by him anno 1585, himselfe traueilling vp into diuers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discover some places of the countrey; but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited

\* See the different account given above by one of the colonists.



desolate, yet vnwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fiteene men <sup>Fifteen men</sup> in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with <sup>more left in</sup> all maner of prouisions for two yeeres, and so departed for England. <sup>Virginia.</sup>

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such thinges as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke diuers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done him in this voyadge, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Heriot, seruant to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discouering a full tweluemonth.

Ralfe Lane one of her Maiesties Esquiers, and Gouvernour of the Colony in Virginia, aboue mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

ALbeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without desert; neuerthelesse, forasmuch as I haue bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoever, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuersally are so truely set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth euen amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so

also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Adventurers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

Since the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discovering of that countrey which is now called and knownen by the name of Virginia, many voyages hauing beene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this yeere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports with some slanderous and shameful speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinuile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before ~~they~~ stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for ~~supply~~ and transportation, nothing more being discovered than had ~~been~~ before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselues the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of euent, to the shame of those that haue auouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the aduenturers, fauourers, and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisite. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diuersity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be settled in any certainty.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue beene in the discovery, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially employed: and hauing therefore seene and knownen more then the ordinary, to impart so much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriously the enterprise is

slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your fauourable constructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, haue maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Gouvernours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends and acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great trauellers as themselues. They stood so much as it may seeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a tweluemoneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great disgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some haue not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, and other some make difficulties of those things they haue no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that

many that were neuer out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country : or of that many, that after gold and siluer was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies or of that many which had litle vnderstanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or such as neuer (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the country was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in brieft to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and many enuious, malicious, and slanderous reports and devices by our owne countrey men besides, as trifles that are not worth of wise men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and vnderstanding, I will diuide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there to be found or to be raised, which will not onely serue the necessities of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an ouerplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange to our owne nation of England, will enrich yourselues the providers, those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countrey men, to supply them with most things which heretofore they haue beene faine to prouide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the country by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are vsually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the country, as also by vs during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoouefull for those that shall inhabit, and plant there.

to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary vses: with a briefe description of the nature and manners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

Silke of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot and an halfe highe or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great vse and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elsewhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by prooffe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our iourneys we founde Silke-wormes faire and great, as big as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found such plenty, as elsewhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing, and some of them carefull gathered and husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no greate store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and howsoeuer the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by iudgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further prooffe should finde otherwise, we haue that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any

reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent wine and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purpose. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens we cannot easily vnderstand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of fortie or fiftie miles, whereof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum. of that kind which is called Roch allum. The riches of such commodity is so well knowne, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath been found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kinde of vertue, and more effectuell. The inhabitants say it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in some places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are trees of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store in the very same Island where we were seated, being fifteene miles in length, and five or sixe miles in breadth, there are few trees but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more vses than the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The joyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if neede be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet fine bedstedes, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things (of which there hath bene prooue made already) to make the freight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowe, of the ordinary bennesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe luscious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as the

ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three seuerall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall vses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope also of Marterne furies, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the countrey there are store, although there were but two skinned that came to our hands. Luzernes also we haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deere skinned dressed after the manner of Chamoes, or vndressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet-cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, and in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, and the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the countrey els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and deereness thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderstood by the inhabitants

that dwell further into the countrey, where as they say are mettaines and riuers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the first of our first arriual in the countrey, I saw, with some others of me, two small pieces of Siluer grosly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord which dwelt about fourescore miles from vs: of whom through inquiry by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I afterwards stood the Copper was made, and the white graines of mettall found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by tryall to be Siluer.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a colour: not hauing yet discovered those places where we had of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man called

Five thousand in such matters, had gathered together from the sand pearles the Sauage people about five thousand: which he gathered.

number he chose as many as made a fashion which for their likenesse and vniformity in roundnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with the greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore presented to her Maiesty, had we not by casualty, and the extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in coming away from the countrey.

Sweet gummess of diuers kinds, and many other Apocryphal drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receiue it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in all reasonable paines shall discouer them more particularly than we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now lost, other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dyes of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake well known, vsed in England for blacke: the seede of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the bark of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: these dyes are for diuers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be proued. The inhabitants vse only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, mantles made of Deere skinnes: and also for the dying of their mats, make artificall works withall in their mats and baskets, ha



no other thing besides that they account of, apt to vse them for  
If they will not prooue merchantable, there is no doubt but the  
planters there shall finde apt vses for them, as also for other  
colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and vses amongst English  
Diers, which can not be yeilded sufficiently in our owne countrey  
for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being  
ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted  
when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which  
are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so  
well preserved as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere  
being past for their setting when we arriued, we could not make  
that prooue of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that  
they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and  
in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise  
for Orenge and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses.  
Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently  
prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugers, Suckets, and Mar-  
melades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised,  
which I leaue to your discreet and gentle considerations: and  
many also may be there, which yet we haue not discouered.  
Two more commoditie of great value, one of certainty, and the  
other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in  
short time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue specified.  
So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might  
haue sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found,  
and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in  
what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and  
in what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be  
there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue  
wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well dis-  
posed, I haue vttered, according to my promise and purpose, for  
this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowne to  
yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed  
vpon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by vs, during  
the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and  
husbanded.

PAgatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the

same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being vsed according to its kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand, fiftene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen and twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in fourteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: euery head conteining fife, sixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okingier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, sauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they little differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselues, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a mortar, and thereof make loaues or lumps of doughish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their seuerall formes, called by vs Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like

formes as those in England. In Virginia such of seuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fūe foot high: of the seede thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We ourselues vsed the leaues for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with a floure is a spanne in bredth. Some take it to be *Planta Solis*: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayde commodities for victuall are set or sowed sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselues, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few days before they sowe or set, the men with wooden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a foot long, and about fūe inches in bredth, doe onely break the vpper part of the ground to raise vp the weeds, grasse, and old stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrypt vp into small heaps, to saue them labour for carrying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee obserued they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pedker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that

they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) and couer them with the molde againe: and so thorowout the whole plot making such holes, and vsing them after such maner, but with this regard, that they make them in ranks, euery rank differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze: in diuers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by vs experimented, an English acre containing forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this vnto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victuall, the increase is so much, that small labor and paines is needful in respect of that which must be vsed for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we haue made prooffe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a twelue moneth, if he haue nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but fve and twenty yards square. And if need require but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfsame ground two haruests or ofcomes: for the sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March vntill the end of Iune: so that they also set when they haue eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they haue two haruests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neuerthelesse, whether to use or not to vse it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall haue further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oates, and Peaze, we haue seene prooffe of, not being purposely sowed, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet

to be as faire as any we haue euer seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. This much haue I digressed, and I hope not vnneccessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: in the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vsed: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into pouder, they vsed to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body; by which meanes the vse thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they haue not bene of two long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserued in health, and know not many grieuous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storm vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire; also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selues, during the time we were there, vsed to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found many rare and wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vse to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

## Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in

Monardes ropes, as though they were fastened with a string.  
 parte 2. lib. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat.

1. cap. 4. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.\*

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds : some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground : for by reason of their drinesse they will neither rost nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots : notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants vse to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the housholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme : their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding vsed to boile and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring forth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre vnlike : which being supported by the trees it groweth neere vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chapt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root ; for it was discouered since, and is in vse as is aforesayd : but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassauy, where-

\* This is no doubt, that most useful vegetable, the potato.

upon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is vsed very much by the inhabitants. The The iuice of iuice of this root is poison, and therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: *Coscushaw* is poison.

either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, of by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stamp: loaues of the same to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

#### Of fruits.

CHesnuts there are in diuers places great store: some they vse to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they vse of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kind is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vse to put into some sorts of their spoonmeat: also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by vs chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good vntill they be

rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cherries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are luscious sweet.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but they are of a perfect red

There are colour as well within as without. They grow on a  
 iii. kinds of plant whose leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles  
 Tunas as sharpe as needles. Some that haue bene in the  
 whereof Indies, where they haue seene that kind of red die of  
 that which bearth no great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe  
 fruieth describe this plant right like vnto this of Metaquesun-  
 bringeth nauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a  
 fourth the bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified,  
 Cochinillo. seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but  
 found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for such matter  
 we haue not so specially obserued.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are as good and as great as those which we haue in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as we haue in England.

Sacquenumener, a kinde of berries almost like vnto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and wholesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kind of Reed which beareth a seed almost like vnto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in some places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

There is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are five sorts that grow on seuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemenner, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckoner.



These kinde of acornes they vse to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be vsed, they first water them vntill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to make loaues or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants vsed to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like vnto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their seruants, or sometime the chiefe themselues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

#### Of Beasts.

DEere, in some places there are great store: neere vnto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailles are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backwards.

Conies. Those that we haue seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they vsually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our selues, but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirrels, which are a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vse to take and eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for assoone as they haue spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get vp the next tree they can: from whence with arrowes they are shot

downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calieuers.

I haue the name of eight and twenty seuerall sorts of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine; of which there are onely twelue kinds that we haue yet discouered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him:\* and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluish dogs, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company haue bene experimented in both.

#### Of Fowle.

TVrkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of fowle I haue the names in the countrey language of fourescoure and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, and haue the pictures as they were drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of seuerall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seuteene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discouery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vsed for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

#### Of Fish.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eightene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds

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\* Of course, this is an error.

of fish in those moneths are most plentiful, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwiues, Mulletts, Plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we haue taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the country language: we haue the pictures of twelue sorts more, as they were drawn in the country, with their names.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes: the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats or els a: they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

*In the gulfe of California they vse the like fishing.*

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we haue in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our country.

Also Muscles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a crusty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venimous beasts; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.



The third and last part of such other things as are behouefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

**Of commodities for building and other necessary vses.**

THose other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concerne building, and other mechanically necessary vses, as diuers sorts of trees for house and ship-timber, and other vses else: Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might haue bene doubted of, or by some that are malicious the contrary reported.

Oakes there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue said before very many, some haue bene seene excellent timber of foure and fife fadome, and aboue foure-score foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiok, a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we haue knowne some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other vses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweete wood good for seelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue also said before. Some of our companie which haue wandered in some places where I haue not bene, haue made certeine affirmation of Cyprus, which for such and other excellent vses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vse to make their bowes.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants vse onely reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, doe serue for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as also for many things els.

Elme. Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes describeth to be Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it so conuenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation: seeing that for timber and other necessary vses, I haue named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good vse, I know no cause to doubt.

Nowe for stone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we haue seene diuers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like vnto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vse of any store whereupon they should haue occasion to seeke any. For if euery housholde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vse they any digging, but onely for graues about three foote deepe: and therefore no marueile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntill there be discouery of sufficient store in some place or other conuenient, the want of you which are and shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Isles of Tenet\* and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of

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\* Thanet.

many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stonnes, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

#### Of the nature and maners of the people.

IT resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners leauing large discourse thereof vntil time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre forth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middle, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons *Laques Cartier* that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, *voyage 2.* and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of *chap. 8.* wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barkes, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that we haue seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed ypright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundred fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres among themselues is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light,\* or els by ambushes, or some subtile deuises. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defence, after the deliury of euery arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and deuises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding in their proper maner (considering the want of such means as we haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speed for doing and execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vsed, that they may in short time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

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\* This is quite different from the Indians of South America, who "rarely attacked in the night." (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, II. cap. X.

They beleeeue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath beene from all eternitie. Who as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be vsed in the creation and gouernment to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters out of which by the gods were made all diuersitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceiued and brought forth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relation hauing no letters or other such meanes as we to keepe records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offering vnto them. In some Machicomuck we haue seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeeue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either carried to heauen the habitacle of the gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being seene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to auoyd that terrible



place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was aliuie, and had trauailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then euer hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most braue and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enioy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soeuer be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gouvernours, and also great care what they doe, to auoyd torment after death, and to enioy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde firewoorkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clocks that seeme to goe of themselues, and many other things that wee had were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they

knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set forth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was contained the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein contained: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a draught which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that he would preserue their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs. One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, wil I

mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtle deuise practised against vs, wee leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fise Townes to follow their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selues his true seruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and serue him in righteousness, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done accord-

ing to his diuine will and pleasure, and as by his wisdom he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, and that we in vsing such speeches vnto them, did not dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thanks in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women among vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuisible and without bodies, and that by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting inuisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the inuisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as wee listed, howe farre distant from vs soeuer it were. And other some said, that it was the special worke of God for our sakes, as we our selues haue cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And also

of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I haue set downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and gouernment to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although some of our company towards the ende of the yeere, shewed themselues too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might easily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part iustly deserued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoeuer els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The best neuerthesse in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeuoured and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

#### The conclusion.

NOW I haue (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more known then I haue mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discouered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we haue reason so to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although al which I haue before spoken of, haue bene discouered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our trauailing: yet sometimes as we made our iourneys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with

people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee haue already discovered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeele many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery haue not seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the Iland of Iapan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neerer them, cannot be knownen vnto you without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but this much: that for all the want of prouisson, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort, as to haue brought vs into some

This want is hereafter to be supplied. greuous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and

their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily provided for vs, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore in all our trauailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforesaid causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and

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ickly persons before euer they come thither, and those that knew hem, much marueled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be performed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Raleigh so liberall in large giuing and granting land there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene fise hundreth acres to a man onely for the aduenture of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably provided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, that is requisit, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt but for the time following, they may haue victuall that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sorts of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before and there are yet remaying, may and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene already, and proue well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enrich themselues, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue beene by Sir Walter Raleigh therein, and there employed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discoverers of the Country, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuill, and after his departure of our Gouvernour there Master Ralph Lane, with diuers others directed and employed vnder their government: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation of the Gouvernour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the course of times:

which when time shall be thought conuenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh intending to perseuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom hee appointed Gouernour, and also appointed vnto him twelue Assistants, vnto whom he gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia.

#### April.

OVR Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to an anker at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

#### May.

The fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admirall, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leauing her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

#### Iune.

THE 19 we fell with Dominica, and the same euening we



sayed betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz,\* where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres it ware away of it selfe.

One of the Isles of the Indies inhabited with Sauages. Circumspection to be vsed in strange places.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we took fise great Tortoses, some of them of such bignes, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no wating place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so euill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawn away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut vp, and could not see in fise or sixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouvernour also, with sixe others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of sauage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was iudged, that this Island was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Gouvernour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

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\* One of the Virgin Islands.

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketos Bay,\* where we spent three dayes vnprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

THE first day we weyed anker at Musketo Bay, where we were left behind two Irish men of our company, Musketos Bay, is a harbour vpon the south side of S. Iohns Island, where we take in fresh water. Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Iohns till euening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many sakes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouvernour also, for that hee vnderstood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiuing them in a readines, sent to the Gouvernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilst he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

The next day sayling along the west end of S. Iohn, the

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\* Now called Crux Bay.

Gouverneur determined to go aland in S. Germans Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenge, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well known to the Gouverneur, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, and there land the Gouverneur, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattell, and all such things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainly did appeare to vs afterwards.

A pleasant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the west end of S. Iohns Island, where groweth plenty of Orenge, Limons, Plantans, and Pines.

The next day after, being the third of Iuly, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4. of Iuly, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Gouverneur, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Raleigh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt day of Iuly we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring vs that if they were drie we might find salt to shift with, vntill the next supply: but it prooued as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilst Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Iland, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leauing

Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of Iuly we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himselfe deceiued, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away vpon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

The two and twentieth of Iuly wee arriued safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Gouvernour went aboard the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe vp to Roanoak soorthwith, hoping there to finde those fiteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yeere before, with whom he meant to haue conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe

along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok where we  
 An intent to plant in the Bay of Chesepiok. intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Raleigh: but assoone

as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leaue them in the Island, except the Gouvernour, and two or three such as he approued, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Gouvernour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fiteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fiteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.

The three and twentieth of Iuly the Gouvernour with diuers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere

before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fiftene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauing that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrown with Melons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fiftene men liuing.

The same day order was giuen, that euery man should be employed for the repaying of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other new Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arriued all safe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

The eight and twentieth, George Howie, one of our twelue Assistants was slaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Sauages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gaue him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their wooden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Iuly Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kindred dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to vnderstand some newes of our fiftene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey toward vs, and to renew our old friendship with them.

At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our shot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the first, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne, where there feasted vs after their maner, and desired vs earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told vs further, that for want of some such badge, diuers of them were hurt the yere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed vs one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt euer since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them instead of Wingino men, wherefore they held vs excused.

#### August.

THE next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings past on both parts should be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seuen dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Gouvernours of those townes with them, to our Gouverneur at Roanoak, or their answeere. We also vnderstood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we vnderstood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak

the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were suddenly set vpon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk in manner following. They conueyed themselves secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly liued: and hauing perceiued that of those fiftene they could see but eleuen onely, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11 Englishmen calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chieftest men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chieftest of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Sauages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell, strooke him on the heade and slew him, and presently the other eight and twentie Sauages shewed them selues: the other Englishman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages vrsued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages forthwith set the same on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take vp such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they skirmished aboue an howre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Sauages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes coming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Hauing nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboard the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Gouvernour hauing long expected the comming of the Wiroanses of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seven dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Dasamonquepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driuing of our eleuen Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the reuenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene vs and the water: and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiuing them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for those Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne and fruit of that place, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for hate had left all their corne, Tobacco, and Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saued. Finding our selues thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tobacco that we found ripe, leauing the rest vnspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with



the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Gouvernour at the day appointed, they had not known that mischance.

The 13 of August our Sauage Manteo, by the comniandement of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull seruices.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouvernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had vnladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at North-east, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on sixe dayes before he could come to vs againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left aland.

At this time some controuersies arose betweene the Gouvernour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelue Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refused, saue onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perswading of the Gouvernour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Gouvernour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes,

why he would not : the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leauing the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leaue their natiue countrey, and vndertake tha voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politickely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them

behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the  
 Their mean- ing to remoue 50 miles into the country. maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, and most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all suche things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some proo<sup>se</sup>, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe h.mselfe.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Gouvernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond vnder all their handes and seales for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof was spoyled or lost, they would sec it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoever the same should be missed and demanded : which bond, with a testimony vnder their hands and seales, they forthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

“ May it please you, her Maiesties subiects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and euery of you to vnderstand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde and consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouvernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the foresayd supplies :

and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouvernement, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalves to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587.

The Gouvernour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrainned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning and the same day about midnight, came aboard the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both ships weyed anker, and set saile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flyboate were thrown from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recouered it; neuerthelesse they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were thrown downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore hauing in all but fiteene men aboard, and most of them by this vnfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neuerthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, vntill the seuateenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and sawe Flores.

#### September.

THE eighteenth, perceiuing that of all our fiteene men in the Flyboat there remained but fiae, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England but to linger about the Island of Tercera for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the helpe of God to arriue shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twentie dayes, hauing had sometimes scarce and

variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed there arose a storme at Northeast, which for sixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driuen further in those sixe then we could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beuerage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

#### October.

THE 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton \* riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, vntill the pinnesse sent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of Smerwick in whom wee vnderstood wee were in Smerwick in the West of West parts of Ireland: they also relieued vs presently Ireland. with fresh water, wine and other fresh meate.

The 18 the Gouvernour and the Master ryd to Dingen a Cushe,† 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboat for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboard the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefe sailers were brought sicke to Dingen.

#### Nouember.

THE first the Gouvernour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut vp the Seuern, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

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\* Littlehampton.

† Probably Dingle, County Kerry.

The 5 the Gouvernour landed in England at Martasew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderstood that our consort the Admirall was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefe men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all haue perished there, if a small barke by a great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arriued in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.

Iohn White.  
Ananias Dare.  
Thomas Steuens.  
Dyonis Haruie.  
George How.  
Nicholas Iohnson.  
Anthony Cage.  
William Willes.  
Cutbert White.  
Clement Tayler.  
Iohn Cotsmur.  
Thomas Colman.  
Marke Bennet.  
Iohn Stilman.  
Iohn Tydway.  
Edmond English.  
Henry Berry.  
Iohn Spendloue.  
Thomas Butler.  
Iohn Burden.  
Thomas Ellis.  
Michael Myllet.

Roger Baily.  
Christopher Cooper.  
Iohn Sampson.  
Roger Prat.  
Simon Fernando.  
Thomas Warner.  
Iohn Iones.  
Iohn Brooke.  
Iohn Bright.  
William Sole.  
Humsfrey Newton.  
Thomas Gramme.  
Iohn Gibbes.  
Robert Wilkinson.  
Ambrose Viccars.  
Thomas Topan.  
Richard Berry  
Iohn Hemmington.  
Edward Powell.  
Iames Hynde.  
William Browne.  
Thomas Smith.

Richard Kemme.  
 Richard Tauerner.  
 Henry Iohnson.  
 Richard Darige.  
 Arnold Archard.  
 William Dutton.  
 William Waters.  
 Iohn Chapman.  
 Robert Little.  
 Richard Wildye.  
 Michael Bishop.  
 Henry Rufoote  
 Henry Dorrell.  
 Henry Mylton.  
 Thomas Harris.  
 Thomas Pheuens.  
 Thomas Scot.  
 Iohn Wyles.  
 George Martyn.  
 Martin Sutton.  
 Iohn Bridger.  
 Richard Shabedge.  
 Iohn Cheuen.  
 William Berde.

Thomas Harris.  
 Iohn Earnest.  
 Iohn Starte.  
 William Lucas.  
 Iohn Wright.  
 Mauris Allen.  
 Richard Arthur.  
 William Clement.  
 Hugh Tayler.  
 Lewes Wotton.  
 Henry Browne.  
 Richard Tomkins.  
 Charles Florrie.  
 Henry Paine.  
 William Nichols.  
 Iohn Borden.  
 Peter Little.  
 Brian Wyles.  
 Hugh Pattenson.  
 Iohn Farre.  
 Griffen Iones.  
 Iames Lasie.  
 Thomas Hewet.

#### Women.

Elyoner Dare.  
 Agnes Wood  
 Ioyce Archard  
 Elizabeth Glane.  
 Audry Tappan.  
 Emme Merrimoth.  
 Margaret Lawrence.  
 Iane Mannering.  
 Elizabeth Viccars.

Margery Haruie.  
 Wenefrid Powell.  
 Iane Iones.  
 Iane Pierce.  
 Alis Chapman.  
 Colman.  
 Ioan Warren.  
 Rose Payne.

#### Boyes and children.

Iohn Sampson.  
 Ambrose Viccars.  
 Thomas Humfrey.  
 George How.  
 William Wythers.

Robert Ellis.  
 Thomas Archard.  
 Thomas Smart.  
 Iohn Prat.

Children borne in Virginia.  
Virginia Dare. Haruie.  
Sauages that were in England and returned home  
into Virginia with them.  
Manteo. Towaye.

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt,  
much happinesse in the Lord.

Sir, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made vnto you at my last being with you in England, I haue sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate care) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euent happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you shall plainly perceiue by the sequelle of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. Iohn Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome vnto him, for the supplies and relieves of the planters in Virginia: so likewise, that by his endeuour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were Gods pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Maiestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound vnto Sir Walter Raleigh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, and transport a conuenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessities to be landed in Virginia. Neuerthelesse that order was not obserued, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid

order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only my selfe and my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpon me, although I made great sute, and earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and vnkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcy of time was such, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto Sir Walter Raleigh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both Gouvernors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countrey men in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselues to seeke after purchase and spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arriued at Virginia. And when we were come thither, the season was so vnfit, and weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, hauing not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chieft men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which euils and vnfortunate euent (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Raleigh had bene obserued, or if my dayly and continuall petitions for the performance of the same might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainely perceiue the successe of my fift and last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; and as ioytull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe and comfort them, according to his most holy will and their good desire, I take my leaue: from my house at Newtown: in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,

JOHN WHITE.



The fift voyage of M. Iohn White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

THE 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the Iohn Euangelist, and the little Iohn, put to sea from Plymmouth with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head vs that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

#### Aprill.

On the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shaiops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chase to a double flyboat. the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9. we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

#### May.

THE first of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboard our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with vs; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboard without any resistance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Viceadmirall playing off and on

about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwards bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three smal Ilands called Los Santos, leauing Guadaloupe and them on our star-board.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off vs.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Iohns Iland: and the same day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, and from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and hauing brought this Iland Southeast off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betweene the Virgines, and the East end of S. Iohn: here the Pinnesse left vs, and sayled on the South side of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the North side of S. Iohn, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned vs to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a goodriuier called Yaguana, and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned and tooke from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawen a ground and sunke, and caried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we

departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangelist our Pinnesse staying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starued on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere wilderness, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we vnderstood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set vpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight and forsooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

The 26 the Iohn our Vizeadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our bcyes ranne away from vs, and at tenne dayes end returned to our ships almost starued for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of diuers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

#### Iune.

ON the 14 of Iune we tooke a smal Spanish frigat which fell amongst vs so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape vs. This frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in

her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the thirde a Vintener, who escaped all of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a shippe, which was there taking in freight, as we vnderstood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proued not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neuerthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copper-pannes, and Casau.

### Iuly.

THE second of Iuly Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gaue chase, but they vpon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselues scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our selues and so made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetch-

ing vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The 3 of Iuly we spent about rifling, romaging, and fitting the Prize to be sayled with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.

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\* Novassa, south of the Windward Passage.

Vpon the 8 of Iuly we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh vnto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gaue chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, and lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderstood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Hauana: from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarce, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards sauing three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof called the Martires.\*

The 25 being S. James day in the morning, we fell in with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Hauana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying to and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were espied of three small Pinasses of S. Iohn de Vilua bound for Hauana exceedingly richly loaden. These 3 Pinasses came very boldly vp vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps Pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about and made all the saile they could from vs toward the shore, and kept themselues in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot and poulder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had beene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far to leeward as Hauana: wherfore not finding any of our

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\*Or Florida Keys,

consorts at y<sup>e</sup> Matanças, we put ouer againe to the cape of Florida, and from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West of vs.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast.\*  
 The state of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearely dishocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus dishocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

#### August.

On the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowl weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ships.

The 3 we stooode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of August.

On Munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: and came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Island, being one of the Ilandes, West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

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\* The Gulf Stream.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound ouer this breach : our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome ; and a ships length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by and by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, and then 8, <sup>Great</sup> next cast 5, and then 6, and then 4, and then <sup>diuersity of</sup> 9 againe, and deeper ; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 <sup>soundings.</sup> leagues off from the shore. This breach is in 35. degr. and a halfe, and lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.\*

The 15 of August towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in fise fadom <sup>Hatorask in</sup> water, three leagues from the shore. At our first 36 degr. and <sup>a terce.</sup> comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, and Captaine Cooke, and Cap. Spicer, and their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, and twoe boats put off vnto the shore, in the Admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen fadome : but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes : we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first : but it was much further from the harbour where <sup>They land.</sup> we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieued vs more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this waye to drinke. Being thus wearied

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\* This is either the Core Bank or Hatteras Bank.

with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboard with our boates and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke afternoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake in our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and careful styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, saving onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blew at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boat was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and vndiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore: but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twice or thrice was turned the keele vppward, whereon

|                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Captaine<br>Spicer<br>drowned. | Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung yntill they sunke, and were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a little kept themselues in deeper water and were saued by Captaine Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their onersetting, stripped himselfe, and four other that could swimme very well, and with all haste possible rowed vnto them, and saued foure. There were 11 in all and 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|



Skinner, Edward Kelly, Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement and perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North ende of the Island the light of a great fire thorow the woods, to which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore and sounded with a trumpet a Call, and after-wardes many familiar English tunes and Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answeare, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Island directly ouer aguinste Dasamongwepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden y<sup>e</sup> night, and (as we entered vp the sandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them and me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming alway they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with

cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many barres of iron, two pigges of lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie thinges, throwen here and there, almost ouergrown with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnesse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting vs, told vs that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: where wee found fise Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our shippes, with as much speede as we could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning: where-

fore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned by fivē lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, vnpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates: for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Captson, but when the anchor was almost apeeke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that we were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mount. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarce, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then we should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countrey men at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alleaged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to

They leaue  
the coast of  
Virginia.

goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driuen to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stooode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fiftenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry\* all that day. At this time by account we iudged our selues to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cueruo and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seuteenth wee saw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cueruo, we escryed a sayle a head vs, to whom we gaue chase: but when wee came neere him, wee knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we vnderstood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Vice-admirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselues aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderstood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Vice-admirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and

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\* Heave to.

sixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunke ; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of siluer which sunke <sup>13. Pipes of siluer.</sup> with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte vnder water, got away ; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue : but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw aboue water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to rescue the two Ships ; Wherefore they gaue ouer the chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom we vnderstood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these fue was the Moonelight our consort, who vpon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for Eng'land, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnesses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firmā of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company ; wherefore we willingly attended on them : who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from vs, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratosia, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queenes fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselves on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as con-

veniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleet in those parts.

The 20. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleet anchored, other some plyed vp and downe betwene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Anthony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleet stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleet, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboat stooode in again with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not attaine the Iland of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

#### October.

The 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Ybham in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.\*

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\* Between 1587 and 1602 Raleigh sent out five expeditions to Virginia. To the last he firmly believed in the future of the country.

## CERTAINE VOYAGES

TO FLORIDA, AND THE LATER AND MORE PERFECT DISCOVERIES THEREOF, TO WIT, OF ALL THE SEACOASTS, RIUERS, BAYES, HAUENS, ISLES, AND MAINE LANDES FARRE VP INTO THE COUNTRY, AND A REPORT OF SOME COLONIES AND FORTES THERE PLANTED AND DISPLANTED, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT, DISPOSITION AND QUALITIE OF THE NATURALL INHABITANTS, AND A DECLARATION OF THE TEMPERATURE OF THE CLIMATE, AND OF THE MANIFOLDE GOOD COMMODITIES FOUND IN THOSE REGIONS.

To the most Christian King of France, Francis the first.

The relation of Iohn de Verrazzano a Florentine, of the land by him discouered in the name of his Maiestie. Written at Diepe the eight of Iuly, 1524.

I Wrote not to your Maiesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the north partes, of the successe of the foure Shippes, which your Maiestie sent forth to discouer new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Maiestie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by these presents I will giue your Maiestie to vnderstand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such euill case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our course along by the coast of Spaine, which your Maiesrie shall vnderstand by the profite that we receiued thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make discouerie of new Countries, to prosecute the nauigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount vnto your Maiestie to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17 of Ianuary the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of  
 The Isle of Madëra. Madëra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship-munition very well prouided and furnished for 8 moneths: And sayling Westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were ouertaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered: whereof with the diuine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were deliuered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made aboue 400. leagues more, where we  
 They discouer land. discouered a new land, neuer before seene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceiued by the great fires that we saw by the Sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the land stretched to the Southwards. In seeking some conuenient Harbrough wherein to anchor and to haue knowledge of the place, we sayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and seeing the land to runne still to the Southwards, we resolued to return back againe towards the North where wee found ourselues troubled with the like difficulty. At length being in despaire to finde any Port, wee cast anchor vpon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the sea side: and seeing vs approach, they fled away, and sometime would stand still and looke backe, beholding vs with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea side, seeming to reioyce very much at the sight of vs, and marueiling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewing vs by sundry signes where we might most commodiously come aland with our Boat, offering vs also of their victuals to eat. Now I wil briefly declare to your Maiestie their life and maners, as farre as we could haue notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they couer their priuie parts with certaine skins of beastes like vnto Martens, which they fasten vnto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of diuers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers.



The people are of colour russet, and not much vnlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature, and commonly somewhat bigger then we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, sauing that they haue somewhat broade visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel fauoured, hauing blacke and greate eyes, with a cheerefull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe.witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the vttermost parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of liuing, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from these we found another people, whose liuing wee thinke to be like vnto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare vnto your Maiestie) shewing at this present the situation and nature of the foresayd land. The shore is all couered with small sand, and so ascendeth vpwards for the space of 15 foote, rising in forme of litle hils about 50 paces broad. And sayling forwards, we found certaine small Riuers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height aboue the sandy shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mighty great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with diuers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Maiesty may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitlesse trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sorts of trees vnknown in Europe, which yeeld most sweet sauours farre from the shoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cause aforesayd, and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs and spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it.

And the land is full of many beastes, as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowles, conuenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholesome ayre, temperature, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the Northwest and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very little raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediately it is dissolued and waxeth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not boysterous, the waues gentle: and although all the shore be somewhat sholde and without harborough, yet it is not dangerous to the saylers, being free from rocks and deepe, so that within 4. or 5. foote of the shore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth still increasing in such vniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can neuer perish there by breaking of her cables, which we haue prooued by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is vsuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppressed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or moued at

The coast  
trendeth to  
the East in  
34. degrees  
of latitude.

all. We departed from this place, stil running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East,\* and we saw euery where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boate ashoare with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waues that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashoare without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came vnto the shoare, making Courteous diuers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were and gentle content we should come aland, and by trial we found people. them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Maiestie shal vnderstand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, bels, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashoare,

\* North-East.

who swimming towards them, and being within 3. or 4. yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things vpon the shoare; but seeking afterwards to returne, he was with such violence of the waues beaten vpon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiuing, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they caried him a litle way off from the sea. The yong man perceiuing they caried him, being at the first dismaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to giue him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marueiling at the whitenesse of his flesh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would haue roasted him at that fire, and haue eaten him. The young man hauing recouered his strength, and hauing stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to returne to the ship: and they with great loue clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accompanying him vnto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leauing him alone, went vnto a high ground and stood there, beholding him vntill he was entred into the boate. This yong man obserued, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle strength, but of prompt wit: farther we obserued not.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might haue some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 3 leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They saw onely one olde woman with a young maijde of 18. or 20. yeeres old, which seeing our company, hid themselves in the grasse for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came vnto them, the women cried out; the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde vnto the woods. Assoone

as they saw vs to quiet them and to winne their fauour, our men gaue them such victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially hauing great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leaue her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found those folkes to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they sewe together with threds of wilde hemp: their heads were trussed vp after the same maner as the former were: their ordinary food is of pulse, whereof they haue great store, differing in colour and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreouer they liue by fishing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, and other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or any other kind of

metall (because that in all this countrey for the space of 200. leagues which we ranne, we neuer saw one stone of any sort:) they helpe themselues with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne and the forepart, vntill it be fit to saile vpon the sea. The land is in situation goodnes and fairnesse like the other: it hath woods like the other, thinne and full of diuers sorts of trees: but not sweete, because the countrey is more Northerly and colde.

We saw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing vp, tooke holde of the trees as they Vines like those of Lombardie. doe in Lombardie, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for hauing oftentimes seene the fruit thereof dried, which was sweete and pleasant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe esteeme the same, because that in euery place where they growe, they take away

the vnder branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbes, and sweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, because they were farre vp in the land, and we iudge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood and of trees framed together.

We doe beleeeue also by many coniectures and signes, that many of them sleeping in the fields, haue no other couert then the open sky. Further knowledge haue we not of them: we thinke that all the rest whose countreys we passed, liue all after one maner. Hauing made our aboade three dayes in this countrey, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore betweene the North and the East, sayling onely in the daytime, and riding at anker by night. In the space of 100. leagues sayling we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certaine litle hils: from amidst the which hils there ran downe into the sea an exceeding great streame of water, which within the mouth was very deepe, and from the sea to the mouth of the same with the tide which we found to rise 8. foote, any great ship laden may passe vp.

A mighty  
riuer.

But because we rode at rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture ourselues without knowledge of the place: and we passed vp with our boat onely into the sayd Riuer, and saw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almost like vnto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of diuers colours: they came towards vs very cheerefully, making great showts of admiration; shewing vs where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entered vp the sayd river into the land about halfe a league where it made a most pleasant lake about 3 leagues in compasse: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of 30. of their small boates, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see vs. And behold vpon the sudden (as is woont to fall out in sayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the sea, we were inforced to returne to our ship, leauing this lande to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantnesse thereof, which we suppose is

People clad  
with feathers  
of diuers  
colours.

The plea-  
santness and  
riches of the  
land.

not without some riches, all the hills shewing minnerall waters in them. We weyed anker, and sayled toward the East, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for 50. leagues being in the sight thereof, we discouered an Iland in forme of a triangle, distant from

the maine land 10. leagues, about the bignes of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was ful of hills couered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: wee gaue it the name of your Maiesties mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

The description of Claudia, Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne. Claudia was mother of king Francis.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues from the Iland, where we found a passing good haue, wherein being entred, we found about 20. small boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ship, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards vs: they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape and apparel: then they all made a loud showt together, declaring that they reioyced. When we had something animated them, vsing their gestures, they came so neere vs, that we cast them certaine bels and glasses, and many toyes, which when they had receiued, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about 40. yeeres of age, the second was a young man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had vpon his naked body a Harts skin wrought artificially with diuers branches like damaske: his head was bare with the hayre tyed vp behind with diuers knot: about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with diuers stones of sundry colours: the yong man was almost appparelled after y<sup>e</sup> same maner. This is the goodliest people, and of the fairest conditions that we haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes: they are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whitenesse: others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Maiestie of the other parts of their body, hauing al such proportion as apperteineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handsome and well faoured, of pleasaunt countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel

manered and continent as any women, and of good education : they are all naked saue their priuy partes, which they couer with a Deeres skin branched or embrodered as the men vse : there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnes of Luzernes : they adorne their heads with diuers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both sides their brestes : others vse other kinde of dressing themselues like vnto the women of Egypt and Syria, these are of the elder sort : and when they are married, they weare diuers toyes, according to the vsage of the people of the East, aswell men as women.

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of Azure and Red. The things that they esteeme most of all those which we gaue them, were bels, christall of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sort, neither cared they for things made of steele and yron, which wee often shewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them : the like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laught and gaue them vs againe. They are very liberall, for they giue that which they haue : wee became great friends with these, and one day we entred into the Hauen with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at Sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats vnto the ship with their faces all bepainted with diuers colours, shewing vs that it was a signe of ioy, bringing vs of their victuals, they made signes vnto vs where we might safest ride in the Hauen for the safegard of our ship keeping still our company : and after we were come to an anker, wee bestowed 15 dayes in providing our selues many necessary things, whither euery day the people repaired to see our ship bringing their wiues with them, whereof they were very ielous : and they themselues entring aboard the ship and staying there a good space, caused their wiues to stay in their boats, and for all the entreatie we could make, offering to giue them diuers things, we could neuer obtaine that they would suffer them to come aboard our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see vs, they all stayed on shore 200. paces from vs, sending a small boat to giue vs intelligence of their comming, saying they

would come to see our ship: this they did in token of safety, and assone as they had answere from vs, they came immediatly, and hauing staid awhile to behold it, they wondered at hearing the cries and noyses of the mariners. The queene and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship vttering diuers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of euey thing particularly. He tooke likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meats, and so courteously taking his leaue departed. And sometimes our men staying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ship for diuers necessities (as it is the vse of seamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to see what we did, and asked vs oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring vs of their prouision: then the king drawing his bow and running vp and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the  
 Most pleasant land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleasant as is  
 and fruitful possible to declare, very apt for any kind of hus-  
 lands. bandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are  
 plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of such fruitfullnesse, that any seed being sowed therein, wil bring forth most excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thicke, that any army were it neuer so great might haue hid it selfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cipresse trees, and other sortes vnknownen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees, and nut trees, and many other sort of fruit differing from ours: there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, and other kinds which they take with their nets and bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they vse are made with great cunning, and in stead of yron, they head them with flint, with iasper stone and hard marble and other sharp stones which they vse in stead of yron to cut trees, and to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10 or 12 men may sit commodiously: their oares are short and broad at the end, and they vse them in the sea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great speedines as they list themselues. We saw their houses made  
 The fashion of their houses. in circular or round forme, 10 or 12 paces in compasse, made with halfe circles of timber separate one



from another without any order of building, couered with mattes of straw wrought cunningly together, which saue them from wind and raine : and if they had the order of building and perfect skil of workmanship as we haue there were no doubt but that they would also make eftsoones great and stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are ful of cleare and glistering stones, <sup>The coast</sup> and alabaster, and therefore it is full of good hauens <sup>full of good</sup> and harboroughs for ships. They mooue the fore- <sup>hauens.</sup> said houses from one place to another according to the commodity of the place and season wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking of the mattes, they haue other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number : in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons. They feed as the other doe aforesaid of pulse which grow in that Countrey with better order of husbandry then in the others. They obserue in their sowing the course of the Moone and the rising of certaine starres, and diuers other customes spoken of by antiquity. Moreouer they liue by hunting and fishing. They liue long, and are seldome sicke, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselues <sup>Their curing</sup> with fire without any phisitian, and they say that they with Tobacco die for very age. They are very pitifull and chari- <sup>and perfumes.</sup> able towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their aduersity : and in their miserie, the kinred reckon vp all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they vse mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space. This is as much as we could learne of them. This land is situated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2. terces : but somewhat more cold by accidentall causes and not of nature, (as I wil declare vnto to your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid Countrey, which lieth East and West, I say that the mouth of the Hauen lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelue leagues : where it <sup>The descrip-</sup> waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulf <sup>tion of a</sup> about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are fise <sup>notable</sup> small Islands very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie <sup>hauen in 41.</sup> and broade trees, among the which Islandes any <sup>deg. and 2.</sup> great Nauie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other <sup>tierces.</sup> danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring

into the Hauen on both sides there are most pleasant hills, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the Sea.

In the midst of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature apt to build any Castle or Fortresse there, for the keeping of the hauen. The fift of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner; but the land somewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to land there in any place, because the weather serued our turne for sailing: but wee suppose that it was like the former, the coast ranne Eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other,

Here the  
people begin  
to be more  
sauage.

and looke how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudenesse and ill maners, and so barbarous that by no signes that euer we could make, we could haue any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselves with Beares skinnnes and *Luzernes* and Seales and other beasts skinnnes. Their food, as farre as we coulde perceiue, repairing often vnto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither saw we any kind or signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to haue any of their commodities, they vsed to come to the sea shore vpon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to giue vs, crying continually that we should not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but kniues, fishookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to inuent. We were in despiht of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of vs: And when we went on shore they shot at vs with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land

any thing notable, or of importance, sauing very great woods and certaine hilles, they may haue some minerall matter in them, because wee saw many of them haue beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from <sup>Beades of copper.</sup> thence keeping our course Northeast along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fiftie leagues, we discovered 32 Islands lying al neere the land, being small and <sup>32 pleasant Islands.</sup> pleasant to the view, high and hauing many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harboroughs and chanelles as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeast for the space of 150. leagues we approached to the land that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. <sup>They ran almost to 50. degrees.</sup> Hauing now spent all our prouision and victuals, and hauing discovered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee haue found, for want of their language wee could not vnderstand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or moouer, neither that they worship the heauen or stars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much lesse whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they vsed any kind of sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they haue no religion at all, and that they liue at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to be perswaded: and all that they see vs Christians doe in our diuine service, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw vs to doe it.

A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitfulnessse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, sauing the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter.

Translated out of French into English  
by M. RICHARD HAKLVYT.

To the right honourable Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the County of Cornewall, R. H. wisheth true felicitie.

SIR, after that this historie, which had bene concealed *many* yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France vnder your Name by my learned friend M. Martine *Basmaier* of Paris, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, vnderstand- ing that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no maruaile though it were very welcome vnto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginia, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in France then I, and vnderstand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceiued that you approoued mine endeuour, not for any priuate ease or commoditie that thereby might redound vnto you, but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would haue forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence in prouiding of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconueniencies that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifold commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein described and so neere neighbours vnto our Colonies, that they

*Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.*

might generally bee awaked and stirred vp vnto the diligent obseruation of euery thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entred. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens gouernment therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to reckon vp againe. And that the rather, because the same with diuers other things of chieftest importance are liuely drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter Iames Morgues,\* sometime liuing in the Black-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath published together with the purtratures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for diuers iust considerations. First, for that as I haue sayd before, they were dedicated vnto you in French: secondly because now foure times also you haue attempted the like vpon the selfe same coast neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue persed† as farre vp into the maine and discouered no lesse secrets in the partes of your aboard, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly considering you are now also ready (vpon the late returne of Captaine Stafford and good newes which he brought you of the safe arriual of your last Colony in their wished hauen) to prosecute this action more thoroughly then euer. And heare to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are wel known vnto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained

A collection  
of the  
commodities  
of Virginia

\* *Marginal note.*—The chiefe things worthe obseruation in Florida are drawn in colours by Iames Morgues painter sometime liuing in the Black fryers in London.

† Pierced.

there about a tweluemonth with you worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wrote well it would demaund a princes purse to haue it thoroughly followed without lingering, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discovered by your seruants,

and partly by breeding of diuers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme steadeth most in need of. And this I find to haue bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their

discoueries and conquests. Eor the Spaniards at their first

entrance into Hispaniola found neither suger-canes nor ginger, growing there, nor any kind of our cattell : But finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine and buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beastes thither, and transported the plants of suger-canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen,

with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island, The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as Iohn Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they vsed in the Isles of

Açores by sowing therein great quantity of Woad. So Woad and vines planted dealt they in S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctial, and in the Azores. in Brasil and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but that in due time they shall reape no lesse commodity and benefiite. Moreouer there is none other likelihood but that her Maiesty, which hath Christned, and giuen the name to your Virginia if need require, will deale after the maner of honourable godmothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring vp their children fhemselues, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardliues or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile

and Aragon,\* after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their coffers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of Granada and rooting the Moors, a wicked weed, out of Spaine, was neuertheless so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the son of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne jewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father forth vpon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forwardnesse and bounty in aduancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant now in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselues, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath bene found by those that haue had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped anx intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start a Hare: So sundry men entering into these discoveries propose vnto themselues seuerall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part wordly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the sauing of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons were entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to send some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Sauages, wee seeke not yours but you: I conceiue

The aptnesse  
of the people  
in the maine  
of Virginia  
to embrace  
Christianitie.  
Seneca.

<sup>2</sup> Cor. 12. 14.

\**Marginal note.*—The great zeal of Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon in aduancing of new discoveries tending to Gods glory.

great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the

**Iosue 1. 6.** Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weaknesse, will bless the feeble foundations of your building. Only bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lord sayd vnto Iosue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed vpon you, to the singuler good, vs I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you liue. Hereof we haue examples both domesticall and

The good  
successe in  
Ireland of  
Richard  
Strangbow  
earle of  
Chepstowe.

forreigne. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Ireland newly dedicated vnto your selfe. Read you not that Richard Stranbow the decayed earle of Chepstow in Monmouthshire, being in no great fauour of his soueraigne, passed ouer into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied onely with certaine of his priuate friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king Henry the second to the speedy subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugall was first begun by mean and priuate men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoueries, assured me in this citie in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginie, and the large extensior thereof, especially to the West, should make yon thinke that the subduing of it were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest

The happy  
late discovery  
of the North-  
west of Cap-  
taine Dauis.

of Ireland, first I answere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. Iohn Dauis to the Northwest (toward which his discovery your selfe haue thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culucan and the gulfes of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the maps of those parts. Moreouer it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and vnarmed people in Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland



against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeeres last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare 10000. able men without any misse. And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had euer in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambiquin, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Molucos, and Macao vpon the coast of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppress for certain causes) which haue bene personally in the East Indies, and haue assured me that their kings had neuer aboue ten thousand natural borne Portugals\* (their slaues expected) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of euery gouernement and office subiect to the same with the seuerall pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreyes they go idle vp and downe in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained vp thus long in seruice, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Sauages as shal refuse obedience to her Maiestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shaff vnderstand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere vpon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof you haue bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation vnto you, and your selfe, and all those which vnder you haue taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endeuour. From London the 1. of May 1587.

Your L. humble at commandement. R. HAKLVYT.

The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere.

There are two things, which according to mine opinion haue

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\* *Marginal note.*—The kings of Portugal had neuer aboue ten thousand of their naturall subiects in all their new conquered dominions.

bene the principall causes, in consideration whereof aswell they of ancient times, as those of our age haue bene induced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The first hath bene the naturall desire which wee haue to search out the commodities to liue happily, plentifully, and at ease: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to search out and bring from thence such things as are there to be found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our Countreys. The second cause hath bene the multitude of people too fruitfull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their natie soyles, haue entred vpon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further haue pearced euen vnto the vttermost regions. After this sort the North climate, a fruitfull father of so many nations hath oftentimes sent forth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: so that most of the nations of Europe drawe their originall from these parts. Contrariwise the more Southerne regions, because they bee too barren by reason of their insupportable heate which raineth in them, neede not any such sending forth of the inhabitants, and haue bene oftentimes constrained to receiue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All Afrike, Spaine, and Italie can also testifie the same, which neuer so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroad to inhabite elsewhere: as on the contrary Scythia, Norway, Gothland and France haue done. The posterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in Italy, Spaine and Afrike but also in fruitful and faire Asia. Neuerthelesse I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding vnto these two chiefe causes aforesaid, (as being most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, and religion in those prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their soueraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should haue preserued the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then advanced them to the possession of the vniuersal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aspire. For it came to passe that their Colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strange

Planting of  
Colonies.

people did utterly ruin and overthrow their Empire. The brinks of the river of Rene are yet red, those of Danubius are no lesse bloody, and our France became fat with their blood which they lost. These are the effects and rewards of all such as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to subdue strange people: effects, I say, contrary to the profit which those shall receive, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to say, to the generall policie of all men, and endeavour to vnite them one with another as well by trafficke and ciuill conuersations, as by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Sauages will not yeeld vnto their enduours so much tending vnto their profit.

When force of armes is to be vsed.

For this cause princes haue sent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good actiuitie to plant themselues in strange Countreys, there to make their profite to bring the Countrey to ciuilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end so much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannical and cruel gouernement: and so they haue alwayes thrived in their enterprises, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Hereof we may gather that sometimes it is good, yea, very expedient to send forth men to discouer the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor depriued of her forces: And againe in such sort that the company sent forth be of so iust and sufficient number, that it may not be defeited by strangers, which euery foote endeavour nothing else but to surprise the same vpon the sudden. As within these few daies past the

Nota.

French haue proued to my great grieve, being able by no means possible to withstand the same, considering that the elements, men, and all the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Christian alliance fought against vs: which thing I purpose to discouer in this present historie with so euident trueth, that the Kings Maiesty my soueraigne prince shall in part be satisfied of the diligence which I haue vsed in his seruice, and mine aduersaries shall find themselues so discouered in their false reports, that they shall haue no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefly set downe the situation and description of the land whereunto we haue sailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeere 1561. vnto sixty fve, to the ende that toose things

may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly and particularly of Florida.

THat part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the West India, was vnknown vnto our ancestours by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the Western Islands and fortunate Isles were not discovered but by those of our age. Howbeit there haue bin some which haue said that they were discovered in the time of Augustus Cæsar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the sixt booke of his *Æneidos*, when he saith, There is a land beyond the starres, and the course of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of Heauen sustaineth the pole vpon his shoulders: neuerthesse it is easie to iudge that hee meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to haue written before his time, neither yet about a thousand yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light vpon this land in the yeere 1592. And fūe yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gaue vnto it his owne name, whereupon afterward it was called America. The first man was very well seene in the Arte of Nauigation and in Astronomie: whereby hee discovered in his time many lands vnknown vnto the ancient cartographers. This countrey is named by son the land of Bresil, and the lande of Parots. It stōd two yeeres 1579 had discovered all this tract for the crowne of England. The first generall part of America. Cabota in the yeere 1579 had discovered all this tract for the crowne of England. I will diuide it for the better vnderstanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Articke on the North called new France, because that in the yeere 1524. Iohn Verzanna a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first, and Madam the Regent his mother vnto these newe Regions, where he went on land, and discovered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth vnto the fiftieth degrec, and farther vnto the North. He planted in

this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of the king of France : so that the Spaniardes themselues which were there afterwarde, haue named this countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the 25. degree vnto the 54. toward the North : and in Longitude from 210. vnto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the bay of Gama, which separateth it from the Isle of Canada whither Iaques Carthiers sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching toward Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many known countreys, as the Regions of Quiuira, Ciuola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discouered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniardes call Pascha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether vnknown.

The second part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, vnto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the Citie of Themistitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adioyning vnto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renoumed are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforesayd, haue not in Longitude past seuentie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, vnto three hundreth and ten : it is also long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree vnto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I haue sayde before, vnto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like an egge, and is very well known vpon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most known and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen haue made diuers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that now it is the best known Countrey which is in all

this part of new France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of land stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South : it hath right ouer against it fve and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and diuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those partes great

quantitie of Pinetrees, which haue no kernels in the aples which they beare. Their woods are full of  
 The trees of Florida. Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry

trees, Lentiskes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wild then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe vp along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is

there a kinde of Medlers, the fruit whereof is better  
 These are perhaps those which the  
 Sauages call Tunas. Plum-trees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspasses, and a little

berrie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hasez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The beastes

best known in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes,  
 The beasts of Florida. Goates, Deere, Leopards, Ounces, Luserns, diuers sortes of Wolues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of

Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges,  
 The foule of Florida. Parrots, Pigions, Ringdouses, Turtles, Blackbirdes,

Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geese, Malards, Cormorants, Hernshawes, white red, blacke, and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foules.

There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that ofentimes in swimming men are assayed by them : of Serpents there are many  
 Z<sup>a</sup>. ports. There is found amongst the Sauages good quantitie of Mad. and Siluer, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost he went the coast, as I haue vnderstood by the Sauages themselves. Tropicke the fiftieth

me the rather beleue it, is, that on the coast towarde the here commonly the shippes are cast away, there is

more store of Siluer then towards the North. Neuerthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kindes of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to vse the same. The men are of an Oliue colour, of great stature, <sup>The disposition and</sup> faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. <sup>maners of the Floridians.</sup> They couer their priuies with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them haue their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with faire deuises: the painting whereof can neuer be taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth euen downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it vp after a <sup>The wearing of their haire,</sup> fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons and fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stagges skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they work very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselues, which he winneth that has the longest breath. They also exercise themselues much in shooting. They play at ball in this maner: they set vp a tree in the midst of a place which is eight or nine fathome high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoeuer hitteth in playing therat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut off their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They saue the women and children and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subiects, and for ioy three dayes and three nights they make good cheare, they dance and sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haire of their enemies in

their hands: and in dancing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing vnto him the honour of the victory. They haue no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, sauing of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They haue their priests to whom they giue great credit, because they are great magicians, great sooth-sayers, and callers vpon diuels. These Priests serue them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they loue women and maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and euery one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to haue two or three: yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and auctoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they haue their flowers.

Many Hermaphrodites which haue the nature of both sexes. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint <sup>st</sup> faces much, and sticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. The

victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand riraffes, euen to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first,

with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiuer full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewise their bowes and

arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprize in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their Councell together, and they take very good aduisement before they growe to a resolution. They meete together euery morning in a great common house, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe vpon a seate which is higher then the seates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him: and the most ancient begin their



salutations, lifting vp both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest answer ha, ha. Assoone as they haue done their salutation, euery man sitteth him downe vpon the seates which are round about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Iawas, that is to say their Priestes, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their aduise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree: They drinke this Cassine very hotte: he drinketh first, then he causeth to be giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart measure of Paris. They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, vnlesse hee hath made proof of his valure in the warre.

The drinking  
of Cassine  
before they  
goe to  
battell.

Moreouer this drinke hath such a vertue, that assoone as they haue drunke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after. Whena King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and vpon his graue they set the cuppe wherein he was wont to drinke: and round about the sayde graue they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast

Their maner  
of the  
buriall of  
Kings.

three dayes together without ceasing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this King are put into his house, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is euer more after to be seene. The like is done with the goods of the Priestes, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houses, and then they set them

The buriall  
of their  
Priests.

on fire. They sowe their Maiz twise a yere, to wit, in March and in Iune, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd Maiz from the time that it is sowed vntill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They haue also faire Pumpions, and very good Beanes. They neuer dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe vp the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground

with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a bro mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they p two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be sowe the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subiect every day to labour, during which labour the King causeth sto of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we haue spoke At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into common house, where it is distributed to euery man accordi to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thin will serue their turnes for sixe moneths, and that very scarce

Their maner of liuing in the Winter. For during the Winter they retire themselves for th or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, wh they make little cotages of Palme boughes for th retraite, and liue there of Maste, of fish which they take, Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beastes wh they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, a dressed in the smoake, which in their language they c Boucaned. They eate willingly the flesh of the Crocodile: a in deede it is faire and white: and where it not that it sauoured too much like Muske we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof They haue a custome among them, that when they finde them- selues sicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cause our selues to be let blood, their Physitions sucke them untill they make the blood follow.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and o the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an Oliv colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that make

Oile in Florida. them to be of this colour procedes of annointings oyle which they vse among them: and they doe for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learn and because of the Sunne which shineth hote vpon their bodi The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme ou the great Riuers bearing their children vpon one of their arme They climbe vp also very nimbly vpon the highest trees in th Country.

Beholde in brieve the description of the Country, with th nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willin to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of n historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better p pared to vnderstand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate c